

THE
Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

THE POSITION OF THE EDUCATION QUESTION.

THE debate on the Elementary Education Bill, which was introduced to Parliament by the Vice-President of Council, was brought to a close on Friday about midnight without a division. Mr. Dixon's amendment to the motion for the second reading fully answered the purpose of those by whom it was supported. It is now generally admitted that no great discussion upon the religious bearings of the measure could have been raised in Committee, and that it was important, if not absolutely necessary, to the success of the Bill as a whole, that the mode in which its machinery (designed as it is to cover the work of Primary Education all over the country), will touch and influence religious organisations, should come under the special and deliberate survey of the House of Commons. It was due no less to the members of the Church Establishment, than to those who do not conform to it, that the business of education, so far as it is to be aided by the resources, and urged on by the authority of the State, should be looked at by Parliament in its relation to the various and mutual interests of spiritual communities. This was the chief—perhaps we may say the only—object of the amendment. No doubt, the tactics adopted by Mr. Dixon on behalf of the Education League were, technically speaking, illogical as well as hostile in form; but there can be as little doubt that they afforded an opportunity, and, perhaps we may add, a motive, for bringing this part of the question to an amicable settlement, which could not have been otherwise secured. The debate which was the result of the so-styled irregularity, was lively, earnest, and full of interest, and the understanding which it brought about between the Government and a considerable number of its own supporters was well worth all the pain entailed by the contest upon both sections of the Liberal party.

The general nature of the solution of the religious difficulty agreed to by the author of the Bill and by those who took exception to its provisions, was indicated by the few concluding sentences of Mr. Gladstone's speech on Friday night. Our readers will, perhaps, expect from us a clear and definite exposition of the practical results to which the right honourable Premier pointed. We think we shall be able without impropriety to meet that expectation. Of course we cannot pretend to do so to the

extent of describing all the details of arrangements which may be found requisite to give effect to the principle agreed on. The principle itself, however, we understand to be this. The State, in discharge of its responsibilities in relation to the education of the people, while it will distinctly refuse to put obstacles in the way of the inculcation of religious truth, and the maintenance of a religious tone in elementary schools coming within the scope of the Education Department, will not regard itself as bound to make provision out of public funds for any religious teaching in public schools. After the passing of the Bill, it will cease to impose upon such schools religious conditions of any kind. Its inspectors will consider it no part of their duty to inquire as to the management of the schools in this respect. The public money will be given exclusively with a view to that teaching which relates to secular knowledge, and the progress of the scholars in such knowledge will furnish the only basis of claim by the managers to public assistance. Assuming, therefore, that the object of the State is as we have attempted to describe it, we believe the provisions made by Government will be in substantial accordance therewith. In schools under denominational management, as well as in the new schools created by local boards, there is to be a complete separation, in point of time, between religious and other instruction. The spirit of Mr. Winterbotham's amendment will, we believe, be embodied in a clause intended to replace that which now passes under the name of a "Conscience Clause." What is required by religious communities for the proper education of children in public elementary schools will henceforth be kept distinct from what will be required by the State. The hours of religious instruction or observances will be before or after the hours of secular instruction. The children will not be under obligation to attend the former, but they will be under obligation to attend the latter. Voluntaryism and compulsion will have each its allotted time for action—the one in relation to spiritual things, the other in relation to secular things. Parents will send their children, or not, as they think best, to be, or to remain, at school during that portion of time which is devoted to the cultivation of their spiritual nature. Compulsion will apply to them only in respect of the hours given to that secular teaching for which the public will pay. The denominationalism of existing schools will be left in them, but it will be left apart and distinct from any authority or support ministered by the State. The practical result of this arrangement, we trust, will be a gradual abandonment of distinct denominational teaching in day-schools, and the more earnest and successful prosecution of it in Sunday-schools; while in schools which are now avowedly denominational, efforts will be made to bring all the scholars within the scope of religious teaching by making that teaching as Catholic as possible, and by adapting it, as nearly as may be, to the immature powers and tender susceptibilities of the scholars to be benefited thereby.

Where Local Boards come into operation, we believe that some alteration of the provisions of the Bill will be assented to by Her Majesty's Government. The election of these Boards, for example, may be made to include with greater certainty the votes of all parents whose children are likely to be educated at a primary school, instead of representing either

the select vestry or the parishioners in vestry assembled. We think there is no desire on the part of the Vice-President of Council to adhere to the precise provisions he has framed in regard to this matter. Should the House think fit, he would interpose no objection, we understand, to the choice of school boards by the ratepayers of the district, ascertained by ballot; nor would he struggle with any great earnestness to retain the 22nd Clause which authorises School Boards to supply the educational deficiency of their districts by giving assistance to existing schools. If, for the sake of economy, such schools are to be adopted, it is not improbable that some provision may be made to obviate the manifest tendency of the arrangement to settle them wholly upon public funds, without in the smallest degree interfering with their present denominational management. At any rate, we have reason to anticipate that in the new schools to be created by Local Boards the utmost impartiality will be observed towards all religious denominations. Each of them will be allowed the use of the school building, out of school hours, for the communication of religious truth to such of the scholars as their parents may be prevailed upon to send; and thus a prospect, we think, of a far better organisation among the churches would be opened for meeting with appropriate and even attractive provisions, the deficiency of spiritual instruction which may be found to exist.

It will not be matter of surprise to our friends that the proffered changes we have attempted to indicate, not in their precise form, but in their purpose and spirit, should have disposed Mr. Dixon and those who shared his responsibility to withdraw further opposition to the second reading of the Bill. They were satisfied that their confidence would not be abused, and that whatever the Vice-President of the Council had professed his willingness to concede to them he would concede in ample measure, and with a good grace. But this does not render superfluous the plainest expression by Nonconformists throughout the country of their will in the matter. The measure, we trust, will not be converted into an occasion for a party struggle, but it must not be forgotten that a large body of Conservatives, with whom a small section of Conservative Liberals will be sure to sympathise, may be expected to do what they can to minimise those concessions which will weaken the ecclesiastical and social ascendancy of the Established Church. Our friends will do well, therefore, to speak out—not, of course, in a hostile, but in a resolute tone. Mistakes have been made, but, happily, have been soon ascertained and abandoned. We shall understand one another better than we did, and, as a natural consequence, we shall be all the more firmly united.

ECCLESIASTICAL NOTES.

In his speech, on Tuesday night, in support of Mr. Dixon's amendment, Mr. Winterbotham referred to the notorious Charge of the present Bishop of Winchester, in which beershops, over-crowded cottages, and Dissent were classed together as hindrances to religious education. In the year 1863, in which this Charge was delivered, several sharp criticisms were passed upon it, and a meeting of Dissenters was held at Reading to protest against its tone. At that time the Bishop of Winchester took no notice whatever of the inferences that were drawn from his language. Mr. Winterbotham, however, having revived the terms in which the right

rev. prelate spoke of Dissent, the Bishop has thought fit to address a letter to the *Times* in explanation of the position which he at that time, and has subsequently, taken. He says in this letter that while he is truly and earnestly attached by connection and affection to the communion of the Church of England, he has no hostility to those who differ from her. He respects them; he has never had any controversy with them; he has honoured friends in their ranks, and gladly joins with them in common works. He does not, indeed, wish to see Dissent stamped out. Besides this, the Bishop explains that in referring to Dissent, after beershops, he used the words "of a totally different class." We must all be glad that such an explanation, tardy though it be, has come from the Bishop. At the same time he does not escape from the substance and point of Mr. Winterbotham's remarks. In the hon. member's reply to the Bishop's letter, he shows how careless, to say the least, the Bishop has been in his use of language, and how, if the Bishop himself, through his explanation, escapes, the clergy do not escape. Another important point, to which attention was called at the time that the authorised charge appeared, is the fact that, in none of the reports of that Charge, as it was originally delivered, did the words "of a wholly different class" appear. If they were in the original Charge, they were left out, with a singular unanimity, by the reporters? However, the Bishop does not stand by the words that he used, according to the meaning which ordinary readers would put upon them. It is satisfactory to know this, and very satisfactory to have his testimony, late as it comes, to the usefulness and piety of Dissent. But why didn't he say what he has now said in his Charges, and so prevent all question and all animadversion?

The *Echo*, in a very carefully written article upon the controversy between the Bishop and Mr. Winterbotham, points attention to the sacerdotal claims which are made by the bishop. It quotes the following passage from his Charge:—"We want more decided Church teaching for our own people. We believe that we do possess, as we cannot see that others do, Christ's direct commission for our ministry, and a certainty and fulness therefore of His presence and of His sacramental working, which, to say the least, may be lacking elsewhere. We have no right to send out children from our schools unfurnished with sound principles on this any more than on other religious subjects. Depend upon it, a thoroughly distinctive teaching of our own doctrines, free from all attack on others, is to be here our people's safeguard."

This, of course, is a claim for the Church of England priesthood being the only Scriptural priesthood, without which the presence of Christ may be lacking. To which the *Echo*, in admirable language replies:—

If the clergy will accept the position which, in these days, is the only one rationally tenable—of the officers of a great national institution for the promotion of religion and virtue, then they may long hold their present place of usefulness and honour, remaining the regular standing spiritual army of the State, while the Dissenters will continue to do service as volunteers. But if this reasonable and most useful position will not content them, what can remain for them and for us but disestablishment, and the reduction to the rank of a sect of a body of men who insist on doctrines of exclusiveness essentially sectarian? They cannot imagine they can be for ever allowed to teach any universal pretensions in schools which the whole nation will be called on to support. More than this, if all the Dissenting chapels in the kingdom could be laid flat by the clergy walking round them—like the Israelites at Jericho, blowing their own trumpets—it is more than doubtful whether the conquering Church would be any the better for her victory. How much of her present zeal and purity, and of such humility as she has retained, are owing to the presence of the "hindrance," Dissent, it would be extremely hard to determine. Here, as elsewhere, the principle holds good. Opposing currents are needful, even to keep the ocean fresh, and progress only takes place through antagonism. If we do not believe in the Divine permission of discord, we must at least acknowledge that men are not yet framed for unity.

The Petition Reports of the House of Commons have been made up and published only to the 14th March, the clerks being apparently overdone by the work which has been thrown upon them. In the Report to that date we find that, while eighteen petitions had been presented with 17,444 signatures for the extension of the present system of Education; 874 petitions with 115,567 signatures had been presented for an alteration of the Bill now before Parliament; and only 45 petitions, with 1,599 signatures, presented in its favour. The majority of the petitions upon this subject, however, were delivered in the course of last week, and as yet no public and authentic report of them has been made.

We inserted a paragraph in our last number with respect to a decision of the Supreme Court of Ohio upon Bible-reading in the State-assisted schools of the city of Cincinnati. The Board of Education of this city, it will be remembered, passed a resolution

prohibiting the reading of the Bible in public schools. This was done at the instance of the Roman Catholics of the city, who simply adopted the same tactics that were adopted by Archbishop Hughes in New York in 1843; but, by the Archbishop, without success. The Supreme Court of Ohio has now decided that the reading of the Bible shall be restored. We quote the substance of the deliverances of the Judges upon this point, as being of peculiar interest at the present time:—

Judge Haggarty spoke to this effect:—"The resolutions of the board are a prohibition of religious instruction; defendants may consider that natural religion is enough for the purposes of the State, and that jealousies and violations of the conscience, for which the Constitution provides no ample protection, will follow the introduction of religious instruction into the schools. Such considerations are to be met thus:—

"1. These provisions of the Constitution (for the reading of the Bible in the common schools) tend to the homogeneity of the populations, and contain the true philosophy of government.

"2. The State is necessary to society and originates in God; they are therefore inseparable: the State needs the bonds and support of religious teaching.

"3. This appears from the legislation for the protection of religious worship; all are taxed to enforce this protection; and the burdens of taxation are increased by the exemption of Church property from taxation. So far, all support places and forms of worship against their consent.

"4. And the State uses both sects and schools as instrumentalities to secure its end.

"5. There is a political value in religion, morality, and knowledge, which the State proposes to secure; and it is only on this ground that taxation for the protection of religious worship and encouragement of instruction is to be justified. The conscience must be subordinated to the public good: '*salus populi suprema lex*.'"

"6. The pupils of the high schools read the Holy Bible, with appropriate singing, and the Greek Testament, and there is no complaint. . . . Our common schools cannot be secularised, though it is a question (i.e. with defendants) whether it would not be better that they should be; but in the view of the Constitution which we have taken the resolutions are void."

Judge Stover says:—"We cannot see how the defendants can expect to exclude this exercise (the reading of the Bible in the schools). . . . There is no censorship over the classics. The crusade is against the Bible only, as against the book recognised by every civilised nation as sacred, and holding the pre-eminent title 'The Book.' If it is excluded, any others must follow on the same ground that they offend the conscience. These resolutions are a sweeping edict, and leave the pupils not only without a hope, but without a God. Not even natural religion may be taught. If a pupil asks about his origin, he may be referred to geology, but not to Genesis. If one asks why the Sabbath is observed, the teacher must ask permission of the Board of Education before the question can be answered."

This is substantially a legal vindication not merely of the right, but the duty, of teaching the Bible. It applies, of course, only to one State in the Union; but, as it is, it is a significant commentary upon the remarks of some of our opponents, who have denounced the United States as Godless and unchristian because they have no State Church.

At the Parliamentary Breakfast of Nonconformists held on Friday week, Mr. James Heywood stated that the Senate of the University of London were about to memorialise the Privy Council respecting the exclusion of all but Churchmen from the government of the great endowed schools. This memorial has since been presented. It recites (1), the undenominational character of this University as established by Royal Charter; (2), its power to confer all degrees except degrees in Theology; (3), the fact that the Senate consists of Jews, Roman Catholics, Nonconformists of various denominations, and members of the Church of England, "and that there is no reason to believe that the religious opinions of any person have in any way affected his qualification for becoming a member of the Senate;" (4), the list of Colleges affiliated to the University is referred to as showing its undenominational character; (5), it is stated that examiners and officers are appointed without respect to their religious opinions; and (6), it is stated that, in accordance with the fundamental principle of the University, distinctions and rewards have been conferred according to desert and intellectual proficiency upon all classes and denominations of the subjects of the Crown—"Roman Catholics, members of the Established Churches of England and of Scotland, Nonconformists of all denominations, Jews, Mahomedans, and Hindoos—without any distinction whatever." The particular subject of the memorial is then approached, and we cannot do better than quote the whole of it in the words used by the Senate itself; for they state the grievance and give adequate reasons why that grievance should not continue to exist:—

7. That in the new statutes framed by the commissioners appointed under the "Public Schools Act, 1868," it is provided that in the case of each of the schools of Winchester, Harrow, Charterhouse, and Rugby, one member of the new governing body shall be elected by the Senate of the University of London; but that such election is limited by the further provision that the person so nominated shall be a member of the Church of England.

8. That the Senate would have much satisfaction in electing a member of the governing body of each of the schools of Winchester, Rugby, Harrow, and Charterhouse, under the statutes framed by the commissioners; but that they feel that it would be contrary to the principles and practice of the University (as already set forth) to make membership of the Church of England a condition of their nomination of any person as a member of the governing body of either of the before-mentioned schools. And they do not feel this objection to be in any degree modified by the suggestion contained in the letter of February 5, 1870, from the secretary to the commissioners, that "any question as to membership of the Church of England should be left to the person elected himself, who would have to consider whether he could undertake the duties of the office"; since the limitation of their power of election would be practically unaffected by its adoption.

9. That the invitation of the University of London to co-operate in the government of the four above-mentioned schools, implies that these schools are now to be regarded as *de facto* national institutions; in the general benefits of which (exception being made in respect of local privileges) all classes and denominations of the subjects of the Crown have an equal right to participate; and to the governing bodies of which, therefore, it is fitting that any persons should be admitted, irrespectively of their religious opinions, whom the Senate may regard as best qualified to take part in the government of these schools as places of liberal education.

For the reasons set forth in this memorial, the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and Fellows of the University of London, make it their humble request to your Majesty, that you will be pleased to take into your consideration the propriety of disallowing that portion of the statutes framed by the commissioners appointed under the "Public Schools Act, 1868," which prescribes as a qualification for the nomination, by the Senate of the University of London, of a member of the new governing body of each of the schools of Winchester, Harrow, Charterhouse, and Rugby, that the person so nominated shall be a member of the Church of England.

It is to be hoped that, if the Government will not listen to the Nonconformists alone upon such a question, they will listen to such a grave memorial from the Senate of the London University. In taking the step that it has taken, the Senate has performed a fitting but a great duty.

"FREE CHURCHES IN RELATION TO FREE THOUGHT."

This was the subject of a paper read by H. Selfe Leonard, Esq., at a public meeting held on Tuesday, March 15th, at the schoolroom connected with Holloway Congregational Church. There was a full attendance on the occasion. The Rev. Mark Wilks, the pastor, presided, and introduced the lecturer with a few explanatory words.

Mr. LEONARD commenced by dwelling on the importance of the bearing of Church Establishments upon free thought and inquiry, as being perhaps the most important branch of the question as to their general expediency; and also upon the primary question which stood at the threshold of the subject, as to whether free thought or obedience, more or less blind, to dogma, were the right method of teaching religious truth. He proceeded to discriminate the accidental and remediable faults of State Churches from the inherent vice of the system, and to eliminate their foundation principle, which, reform any particular State Churches as we would in doctrine or discipline, must always be characteristic of them. That principle, as generally admitted by opponents, was that it was the right, if not the duty of the State, to support by a national organisation, to endow with national resources, and to strengthen with the nation's name, some church or some system, promulgating religious truth more or less definitely. That a State Church must at its best and broadest be this, the speaker contended at some length, criticising the proposals of the Broad Church party, and particularly the late essay of Sir John Colebridge, and insisting that a Church, coextensive with the religious thought of the nation, and from which there could be no honest dissent, was impracticable, Utopian, and disclaimed by all theological parties. Further, such a Church would be after all but the exaltation of Latitudinarianism to the place of State favourite, and would be therefore but the Establishment of a new sect. The scheme took no account of those various sects by whom isolation from other churches was felt to be a duty, and with whom their theological narrowness, however deplorable we might think it, was a religious conviction. The speaker next proceeded to define free thought, distinguishing it from latitudinarianism, the former being the free allowance of all opinions, whether narrow or broad, the latter merely a broad theological creed. This principle of free thought was of as great importance to men's minds and souls as was freedom in commerce to their material well being. Let protection and monopoly be allowed in the matter of religious thought; let a prohibition tax be placed upon dissent from the popular theology, and we should thereby "hinder and retard the importation of our richest merchandise—truth." Further amplifying the principle of free thought, the speaker proceeded to vindicate it by the writings of Milton and Locke, by the teachings of the Apostles, and by that of Christ Himself. But the principle was best enforced by the terrible consequences which had followed its rejection; and that persecution was the logical issue of a State Church had been admitted by Sir J. Colebridge. Coming to the effect of State Churches, considered at their best, upon free thought and inquiry, the speaker enlarged upon the warping of the judgments of men in regard to religious doctrine, by the distribution of emoluments in the Universities of the State to the holders or professors of

certain opinions. The disfavoured sects were thus handicapped in the race for a just supremacy, and the spectacle of a highly organised hierarchy, exalted over the so-called sects, fostered the dogmatic idea in the minds of the ignorant, and propagated the fallacy that a man need not choose his own religion. The State-Church barrier, too, embittered animosity among theological parties, when they were thus unfairly matched, and did more than any doctrinal differences to render Christian unity impossible. The right of free development which he thus claimed for all opinions, the speaker illustrated by its analogy to the law in nature under which the more valuable and highly organised forms of life exterminated the feebler ones. We should be "Darwinians" in this matter of religious opinion, and leave natural selection to do its work in the realm of mind as of matter. Truth it had been said was but the spark struck off by the collision of opinion. Let that which could be shaken be removed, we might rest assured that that which could not be shaken would remain. Opinions frankly discussed were but "knowledge in the making." Nature's laboratory was the best workshop, and neither Popes nor kings, neither Ecumenical Councils nor Convocations, nor Westminster Assemblies of any kind whatever, could do the work so well. The speaker then proceeded to consider the present establishment in its attitude towards free thought and inquiry—as shewn in the intolerant spirit it had nursed in its prelates and clergy; in the intention to repress all such freedom expressed in the preambles to its articles; in the narrowness generally of those articles, and of the most elaborate of the creeds—the creed of St. Athanasius—which were embodied in the Liturgy. Turning to the plea that however establishments might suppress free thought in many ways, they at least secured freedom to their clergy from the cruel coercion of the voluntary churches, the speaker admitted that there existed exceptional liberality in this matter among individual Churchmen, in spite and defiance of their system, and intolerance among Free Churchmen, not unfrequently, in defiance of theirs; but he insisted that we should compare the systems and their broad results, and not individuals, unfairly selected, from each system. Much that was called coercion among the free churches, proved on inquiry to be nothing more than proper precautions on their part to secure that the ministry, whom they supported by their means, should be in doctrinal sympathy with them. This position the speaker maintained at some length. He next criticised the much-vaunted clerical freedom which it was pretended the State secured, comparing the tests imposed by trust-deeds—when any were so imposed—with those imposed by the constitution of the Establishment, and contending that the hair-breadth escapes of Dr. Colenso and others, and the petty successes of the smaller rebels, were conspicuous only by the force of contrast with the generally hopeless state of liberty within the Establishment. Any latitude which was thus secured to the clergy, was secured by an endowment from the nation, the majority of whom disapproved of such latitude being allowed; and this clerical liberty therefore overrode the liberty of others. The proposals for concurrent endowment, and the establishment of State churches as numerous as the sects, the speaker criticised as ineffective in securing religious equality, as impracticable, and as inculcating the pernicious lesson that the truth of men's opinions was of no consequence. As in the Old Testament story of Solomon, so now it was sought to satisfy the rival claimants to the parentage of Truth by cutting the child in two, and giving half to each. The true mother would not consent to such a mutilation. Contesting the position so often advanced, or more often instinctively felt, that except in law established uniformity, there was no hope for the reunion of Christendom, the speaker contended that on the other hand, its reunion would only become possible, when the claims of justice and the golden rule of Christianity should first have been vindicated by the abolition of all such establishments. Charity unconstrained might fashion a comprehensive church which the law could not; as nature was often potent to heal where art was powerless. It might be, of course, that this reunion might never come about; that it might be reserved for "the angels' ministry at the end of mortal things"; and that the only agreement we might ever arrive at might be an "agreement to differ." But tolerable as such a prospect would be, we need not make up our minds to that. Universal suffrage in religious thought it seems probable that we must have. But universal suffrage did not, either in politics or in thought, involve anarchy or dissension. Rather, was it the strongest basis on which law and union could rest. Upon the "broad basis of the people's will" and judgment might be raised a monarchy or any other form of government, as well as the purely democratical. And they rather looked that the universal Church of the future, if such should ever be, should be neither on the one hand, a hierarchy of irresponsible rulers, however well meaning, reigning by arbitrary decree and sustained by tradition and sentiment; neither on the other hand, an aggregate of clamorous and lawless men, who worshipped each but his own liberty, and who loved revolution and change for their own sakes; but that it should be a church which, founded in the hearts and judgments of its members, appealing for its origin and the proof of its authority to them and to nothing else, should yet uphold by their willing assent the sanctions of Divine law, and of which Christ Himself should be their only Lord and King.

Mr. LEONARD sat down amid cordial cheers, after which a discussion commenced.

The Rev. EDWARD WHITE said: Maintaining on behalf of preachers that discourses prepared with deliberate criticism, I shall not hastily venture to offer anything that can be called an opinion on the able paper which we have just heard. In order to break silence, I will, however, give expression to one or two thoughts which have passed through my mind in attentively listening to it. There are clearly two intellectual forces whose action may be detected under every form of society, and whose comparative predominance determines the character of every age and every institution, I mean the conservative and the progressive. Both are necessary to the welfare of the world, the one to maintain the solidity of life, to preserve the gains of the past, and to give steadiness and strength to the existence of the many; the other to discover new truths, to apply new principles, and to satisfy the desires of the enlightened few. We find these two forces at work on every side, in science, in politics, in religion, and in common life. If either were absent, it would go ill with the world; we should either be fixed in a Chinese immobility, or wrecked amidst a sea of novelties. Hence we have our Conservative party, and our Established Church, and on the other hand we have our Liberal party and our Free Churches. This evening we are to consider the bearings of an establishment on Free thought. All thought worthy of the name is free, no man can bind it; but the meaning doubtless is that we are to ask whether an Established Church encourages men to think freely? There might, indeed, be a previous question, whether free thought of all kinds is a desirable product of the mind? for, as in other departments, there is a useful liberty and a pernicious license, so it is in thinking. Some men's free thinking proves to be the grand chronic excuse for a reactionary conservatism. We will, however, take for granted that our thinking is to be not only free but wise, and then comes the inquiry whether the conjunction of Church and State assists, as some think, or hinders, as we suppose, the progress of truth and the prosperity of thought? Well, Sir, in my opinion an Established Church is nothing more nor less than the organised intolerance of a nation; it is a one-sided support given by the State to the conservative side of thinking, leaving the other side, the progressive, to fight a hard battle under extreme disadvantages. And therefore the proper antagonist of such a system is the honesty and courage of the individual, strengthening itself by the sympathy and co-operation of like-minded spirits. The Conservative party in all departments is quite strong enough without State aid. It is so in religion. It is entrenched in the strongest fortifications, and manned with a whole army of priesthoods. It is in the interest of truth that free thought should be encouraged to the utmost. Under the present system it receives a deadly discouragement by a complicated system of bribery and corruption brought to bear on the minds of men who in early life have taken a solemn engagement never to grow wiser, by a subscription which is a distinct pledge against further honest inquiry. Whether you could maintain a State-Church without subscription, I don't know; but, as we are not likely to have a Church with "only one article," it is sufficient to deal with the actually existing Establishment. It is quite true that the forces brought to bear on men's motives have differed in different ages. For the first hundred years of our history after the Reformation the Tudors tried to frighten all Englishmen out of any thinking contrary to their own, by the most frightful and deadly punishments. That system failing, the Stuarts for another hundred years continued the same policy under the milder form of nose-slitting, ear-cropping, imprisonment, five-mile acts, and the many-tailed cat of episcopal persecution. When that system also broke down, and men still persisted in thinking, the Hanoverian dynasty attempted the suppression of Dissent by mere social discouragement and political exclusion, a form of persecution for opinion which has undergone nearly complete removal during our own lifetimes. Still the Establishment remains, not, indeed, to persecute Nonconformists, but to bribe adherents, by solid pay, by social consideration, and by legislative privilege; and so far to hinder the development of free thought in the nation. The system of subscription at present existing deserves to be denounced throughout Europe as a premium on dishonesty, and a distinct training in equivocation on the part of the English clergy, whether they are conscious of it or not. For it engages young men to declare an unfeigned consent to the whole contents of the Prayer-book as "agreeable to the Word of God," at an age when they cannot possibly know, with any measure of certainty, the meaning or the real contents of either. Such a system is destructive of that transparent honesty which is the very spring of free thought in the right sense of the word; and therefore I contend that the Established Church offers direct injury to the vital religion of the people in the persons of its teachers. I would not, however, be understood to argue that the removal of the Establishment will necessarily result in the encouragement of intellectual freedom. That depends. Mr. Carlyle informs us that this island is inhabited by twenty millions of people, mostly fools. I will not expressly affirm that the "mostly" can be proved. But it is certain that there are a great many fools, and that in general, fools are either disposed to license, or to intolerance; the fools who are in favour of intolerance being by far the more numerous party in the State. Now it is unfortunate that if you were to remove the system which I have called that of the organised intolerance of the nation, you

will still have to contend with the inorganic intolerance of the multitude. America is an evidence that you may do away with an Established Church, and only exchange sometimes the intolerance of the State for the intolerance of free and independent electors, both in religion and politics. There is no perfect cure for these evils, therefore, except in the breathing forth upon society of a general spirit of honesty and sobriety, for it is that alone which will enable you either to persuade the nation to remove its ancient instruments of oppression, and its artificial bulwarks of Conservatism, or render your victory a real success. And this spirit is to be diffused through society chiefly by the example of men who recommend free thought to their neighbours by the moderation of their tone and the solid value of their enterprises. (Cheers.)

Mr. E. SPICER combated the notion of some Churchmen, that Dissenters compelled their ministers to subscribe to certain dogmas, and said the notion was quite a mistake.

Mr. R. SMITH did not like the term "free thought," as used in the paper, inasmuch as it was generally associated with what was merely license. He liked freedom of opinion, or independence of thought, as more suitable. He considered that the mind, like the body, was more likely to progress without than with fetters.

Mr. GRINLING objected to the abolition of a State Church till the Free Churches had learned to live in harmony.

Mr. WILKINSON was always happy to attend these young men's conferences, where he was invariably treated with courtesy, and permitted to give free expression to his sentiments. As a Churchman, he objected to the tone of the paper altogether, and said there was actually more freedom in the Church of England than in Dissenting Churches. Free thought in religious matters was destructive, as it would be sure to spread into license, as it had done with Tom Paine and Voltaire. A man who became a free-thinker worshipped nothing but his own mind; he was an idolater.

Mr. W. H. MICHAEL, in the course of some remarks, admitted some of the defects of Nonconformist bodies. To some extent there was a narrowness which was inconsistent with free thought, but it was gradually dying away.

Mr. LEONARD briefly replied, and the proceedings then terminated with the usual compliment to the chairman.

WOOLWICH.

A public meeting was held at Woolwich on Tuesday, March 8th, for the purpose of advocating the principles of religious equality. The arrangements were made by the local committee of the Liberation Society. The meeting was well attended, and was characterised with much enthusiasm. Edmond Beales, Esq., M.A., occupied the chair; he was supported by many ministers and gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood. The chairman said they had met to support the great principles of religious equality, and more especially with reference to the Universities and the burial laws. He said that when the Universities were established there was only one religion through the whole kingdom, and they should have expanded with the nation and with the spread of that religion which declared that God is no respecter of persons. There was not a more deadly enemy to Christianity and mankind in general than a narrow, bitter, sectarian spirit. (Cheers.) The rule of an exclusive spirit of ascendancy had received its death-blow in Ireland, and he did not think it would much longer exist in England. (Loud cheers.) He contended that the full benefits of the colleges should be available for the whole community without regard to any class or sect. He was glad that the advocates of religious equality were prepared to support Mr. Osborne Morgan's Burials Bill, and said it would prevent all bigoted clergymen from availing themselves of the power to outrage the purest feelings of humanity in the most solemn moments of existence. (Hear, hear.) From the tone of the Queen's Speech there was a good prospect of these measures being adopted by Parliament. He was there as heartily supporting the religious rights of his fellow-countrymen, as he had supported their efforts to obtain political rights. (Loud applause.) Mr. J. Carroll Williams delivered an able address on "The present position of the Church Establishment question." The resolutions were moved and supported by Mr. W. C. Bennett, LL.D., Mr. Jas. Spencer, Mr. George White, Mr. J. Templeton, F.R.G.S., the Rev. J. Richard. Mr. Templeton, in the course of his remarks, expressed his pleasure in meeting with the chairman on that platform, and spoke in high terms of his public services. (Loud cheers.) He considered that no country could have full political freedom without religious freedom. The nations had been liberating themselves from political servitude, and are now seeking to secure their religious liberties. Petitions in favour of the abolition of ecclesiastical tests in the Universities, and in support of the Burial Laws Amendment Bill, were unanimously carried. The meeting expressed its opinion that all national institutions of an educational character ought to be open to the nation without regard to sectarian distinction, and also expressed the hope that the Legislature would not sanction any measure for the promotion of elementary education which would allow of denominational teaching at the public expense, or in any other way interfere with the rights of conscience. A resolution in favour of the liberation of religion from State patronage and control, was carried with only one dissentient.

THE IRISH CHURCH CONVENTION.

The Convention was occupied on Tuesday last week in reviewing the remaining clauses of chapter 3 on the question of patronage. Considerable alterations, but, to a great extent, of a verbal character, were made in the section. The Representative Church Body is now complete. In addition to those forty-eight members elected on Thursday week, twelve co-appointed members were chosen on Tuesday. Most of them are Fellows of Trinity College, or business men residing in Dublin. They include Dr. Ball, M.P., Judge Longfield; Dr. Salmon, Regius Professor of Divinity; Dr. Carson, F.T.C.D., Dr. Galbraith, F.T.C.D.; Mr. James Spaight, of Limerick; Mr. James R. Stewart; and Archdeacon Kyle, of Cork. The Dean of St. Patrick's, who acted as scrutineer, announced the names of those elected at the meeting of the Convention this morning. The Church Body now consists of sixty members, and to them, when incorporated, will be handed over whatever remains of the property of the Irish Church, and whatever private benefactors may in future contribute to it. The Convention went into committee to consider the important question of patronage, with special reference to private benefactions. Clause 16, which, from the complicated nature of its contents, cannot be understood unless given *in extenso*, is as follows:—

Clause 16—In cases of private endowments it shall be competent for the Board of Nominators for any parish, parochial district, chapelry, or union, at a meeting to be specially convened for that purpose, which meeting it shall be the duty of the bishop of the diocese to summon, upon the request, in writing, of any private benefactor or benefactors, contributing to the endowment for Church purposes of such parish, parochial district, chapelry, or union, to enter into an agreement with such benefactor or benefactors, and therefore to determine in what measure the right of presentation shall be exercised in future, and to vest the right of patronage accordingly, subject to the approval of the representative body: provided always that in those cases two-thirds of the members of the board shall form a quorum, and that any such agreement must have the approval of two-thirds of the members present at such meeting of the board, including two of the three parochial nominators, and that the bishop of the diocese shall always be present at such meeting of the board, and act as chairman thereof, and vote at such meeting.

Sir ROBERT PAUL rose to move the omission of the clause. He was of opinion that the Church Bill was a very iniquitous measure; but in it there was an admixture of good, as it enabled them to get rid of the right of private presentation, which had been greatly abused. He wished to prevent such abuses being perpetrated, and he therefore moved that the clause be omitted altogether. The PRIMATE thought that they were now considering a subject surrounded on all sides with great difficulties. He dissented from the excellent abstract principles laid down by Sir Robert Paul, for he felt convinced that in the future Church there would be a large number of parishes which would not be able, unless aided by private benefactions, to secure for themselves the services of an educated gentleman as their minister. Now, we should do nothing to deter gentlemen of fortune from liberally assisting our Church. We do not want to have parishes without incumbents, and we do not want to have our clergy what the Bishop of Peterborough has called "the tame Levites" of great families. He thought that the clause, as it was proposed by the Committee of Organisation, although capable of improvement, was adapted to their purpose, always bearing in mind the great danger of depriving a parish of perpetual endowment, by means of the liberality of those chiefly interested in its welfare. Subsequently Master Brooke Lord Dunsany, Major Ffolliott, and the Archdeacon of Meath opposed Sir Robert Paul's amendment; whilst it was supported by Mr. Archdall and Mr. J. F. Bloomfield; and it was negatived on a division. The clause, with various amendments added, was carried. Master Brooke then brought forward several new clauses to limit the right of presentation to the benefactor himself, his living child, and to a child unborn. The proposition was strongly opposed by some members of the Convention, but on a division it was carried by 135 to 79. The remainder of the sitting of the Convention was occupied with verbal amendments of various clauses relating to private endowments.

On Friday it was resolved by a large majority that the Diocesan Synod, in nominating a bishop, should not be required to return the name of more than one candidate to the Bench of Bishops for consecration. Subsequently resolutions were brought forward by the Hon. and Rev. W. C. Plunket, Dr. Salmon, the Rev. R. S. Gregg, Mr. Nunn, and Mr. J. C. Bloomfield, regarding the mode of procedure in the election of bishops. It having been decided that the initiative in the selection should be taken in the Diocesan Synod, it was agreed that the mode of voting should be so arranged as to give each order collectively an equal and co-ordinate voice in the selection of a candidate or candidates for a vacant see. It was also decided that the consent of a majority of each order should be necessary in all cases to constitute an election valid; and, in cases in which only one name is sent forward from the Synod, a majority of two-thirds of both orders should be required. A discussion took place as to whether it would be desirable that, in voting, the members of the Synod should be obliged to put on their voting papers the name of at least one clergyman not belonging to that particular diocese. On a division the motion was lost. The PRIMATE suggested that arrangements should be made for an adjournment till after Easter, or till autumn.

On Saturday Mr. J. C. Bloomfield, in the course of some remarks, said that they "knew a precious

sight too much about the Archbishop of Canterbury." The Rev. Mr. M'ILWAINE called the attention of the chairman to this language. Judge WARREN, as assessor, ruled that although the expression was inconsistent with good taste, it was not out of order. Mr. BLOOMFIELD then qualified his expression by saying that "the learned prelate could not have the confidence of himself or those acting with him, as he was the greatest enemy the Church of Ireland had." The LORD PRIMATE denied that the Archbishop of Canterbury was an enemy of the Church, and said that the reason His Grace had not voted against the second reading of the Irish Church Bill was that he saw it was impossible to reverse a decision carried by a majority of 100 in the House of Commons. He thought it, therefore, quite useless to oppose the second reading, as it would only make matters worse. He (the Primate) had found on every occasion the greatest friendliness evinced by the Archbishop of Canterbury for the Church of Ireland. There was no greater friend of it in England.

THE NEW BISHOPS.

The new Bishop of St. Asaph is the Rev. Joshua Hughes (not Griffiths, as erroneously announced) vicar of Llandoverly. Mr. Hughes was educated at Queen's College, Cambridge, but is Welsh, and is a practised and effective preacher in his native tongue. He is Proctor for the diocese of St. David's in Convocation, and is considered to be of decided Evangelical sentiments.

The Bishopric of Chichester has been filled by the appointment of the Ven. Archdeacon Durnford, Canon of Manchester and rector of Middleton. Mr. Durnford achieved a distinguished career at Eton and Oxford, where he took a First Class in 1826, and subsequently received the archdeaconry and canonry from the late Bishop of Manchester, in which diocese he enjoys the highest reputation. He is best known as an active, learned, and able Churchman, and is not connected with party, either in religion or politics.

The confirmation of the election of the Right Rev. Dr. James Fraser to the Bishopric of Manchester will take place this day in the parish church of St. James's, Piccadilly. The consecration will take place in Manchester Cathedral on Friday, the officiating prelates being the Archbishop of York, with the Bishops of Ripon, Durham, and Carlisle, and probably the Bishop of Winchester. The consecration of the Rev. Dr. Edward Parry, Canon and Archdeacon of Canterbury, to the suffragan Bishopric of Dover will take place on Friday in the private chapel of Lambeth Palace, Dr. Henry Alford, Dean of Canterbury, being the preacher.

With the nominations above referred to, the number of new bishops appointed by Mr. Gladstone is increased to nine, the previous selections having been made to the dioceses of Winchester, Exeter, Bath and Wells, Salisbury, Oxford, Carlisle, and Manchester.

BISHOP WILBERFORCE AND MR. WINTERBOTHAM, M.P.

In a long letter to the *Times*, the Bishop of Winchester defends himself from the specific charge of intolerance brought against him the other day by the member for Stroud. The right rev. prelate is represented to have said (when Bishop of Oxford) that "the three obstacles to the religious education of the people were beershops, Dissent, and overcrowded cottages." The bishop writes to say that it has given him great pain to find his words have been so misunderstood, and he quotes at length from his charges to show that he never did class Dissent with beershops and overcrowded cottages. He admits having spoken of Dissent in a parish as antagonistic to the clergyman's spiritual authority, but he cannot conceive that there is anything offensive in that; a conscientious Dissenter must necessarily feel it his duty to weaken such spiritual authority as much as he can. The right rev. prelate concludes with a statement of his position towards Dissenters and Dissent:—

I am (he says) truly and earnestly attached by conviction and affection to the communion of the Church of England; but this implies no hostility to those who differ from her. I have now been forty-two years in her ministry, and I have never had any controversy with our Dissenting brethren. My earliest education led me, even where we differ from them, to respect them, and, as to matters in which we agree, to rejoice ungrudgingly in the good God has enabled them to do. I have honoured friends in their ranks, and have gladly joined whenever I could in common works with them, and I cannot without an earnest protest allow myself to be classed among those who think that "Dissent, like the cattle plague, ought to be stamped out," or see my name used to stir up strife where I longed for brotherly forbearance and regard.

In reply, Mr. Winterbotham considers the extracts from the charges justify all he said. In reference to the expressions being quoted from the experience of clergymen, and on other points, the hon. member for Stroud says:—

In the charge of 1869 the bishop says, "The answers you have sent me as to the special hindrances of your ministry reveal all the sores of society around us"; and then, enumerating them, says "Dissent itself, among the most universal, Sunday trading, &c." Now, if the bishop did not intend to endorse this "universal" complaint of his clergy, and to include Dissent as well as the other social evils mentioned in the list among "the sores of society," I think I may say he was not fortunate in his use of language.

But be it so—that the "universal" opinion of his clergy is not shared by the bishop—is my case the weaker? I did not select the bishop as exceptionally intolerant. On the contrary, I expressly refused to

quote extreme cases, though not far to seek. It is not fair thus to judge a body of men or an institution. I mentioned the bishop as a very eminent man of great influence, whose views might be taken as a fair adequate expression of the general attitude of the Established Church towards Dissent, especially in the rural parishes. I thought he would not dispute this. It seems I was mistaken. I understand him now to say he does not share the "universal" opinion of his clergy on the point. The bishop "has no hostility to those who differ from" the Established Church; nay, "led by his earliest education," he both "respects them" and "rejoices ungrudgingly in the good God has enabled them to do." Unhappily, however, these kindly Christian feelings are not, he admits, shared by his clergy, to whom he transfers the blame, for with them Dissent is "among the most universal" complaints. And it is with the parochial clergy that we have to do in this matter of education.

Lastly, the bishop says he did not "class together" beerhouses, Dissent, and overcrowded cottages, but took special pains to sever them into wholly different classes. This is true of the charge of 1863 in the form in which it was finally published as a book; but it was not so in the charge as it was delivered, as may be seen not only from the ordinary newspaper reports, but from the formal report in the *Guardian* of November, 1863. There is no such classification in the recent charge of 1869. The point is not of much importance. I do not know that the classification of a Syllabus makes the anathemas any the more comfortable.

I suppose there are few prelates in the Established Church whom earliest education, genius, and kindness of heart could better fit to put an end to the alienation and jealousy existing between his own Church and the Free Churches of England. But if "forty-two years in her ministry," and, I think, fifteen years of vigorous Episcopal supervision, by such a man still leaves his clergy "universally" complaining of the mere "presence of Dissent," I fear the evil lies too deep for such a remedy.

THE COUNCIL AT ROME.

A private despatch from Rome, dated Saturday, contains the following:—"It is probable that the Marquis de Banneville, the French Ambassador, will be absent three weeks. The discussion of the Schema *De Ecclesia* by the Council will not commence before his return. The Vatican's reply to Count Daru's despatch has not left for Paris."

The Roman correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, writing on the 14th, says:—"There is no doubt of the Marquis de Banneville having spoken to Cardinal Antonelli about the departure of the French troops in the event of the Pope continuing to refuse political reforms. The Vatican admits the possibility of an evacuation, but disputes its probability. The functionaries of the Court affirm that France in so grave a matter will not act precipitately, and will have to consider weighty objections. The Pope appears to be resigned to the worst. The other day he said the departure of the French would not discourage him, nor would it turn him aside from the line of conduct he had shaped for himself; and that the difficulties and dangers through which he had passed since his accession to the throne taught him to regard such an event as of very little importance."

A funeral mass was celebrated at Rome on Friday for the Count de Montalembert. The service had originally been arranged by Monsignor de Mérode, brother-in-law of the deceased, at which Monsignor Dupanloup was to have officiated. The Pope, however, prohibited this service as being a manifestation of opposition to the Council. This incident having produced a most painful impression, the Pope ordered the celebration of a funeral mass for the deceased by an Italian Bishop, chosen by himself, in the Church of Santa Maria Traspontina. His Holiness was present in the gallery of the church. A large number of bishops would have been present had not the Pope purposely caused it to be celebrated during a sitting of the Council.

A letter written before this event says:—"The Vatican makes no concealment of its joy at the death of Count de Montalembert. Even the Pope, on hearing of the event, suffered himself to exclaim, 'Oh, what good fortune!' On the 13th, the Holy Father made the death of the great champion of Catholicity the theme of his discourse at a great reception of foreigners. He concluded his censures by saying, 'I know not what were the thoughts of his last moments, but I hope he recanted his errors.' The great enemy of this man, the Pope added, was his pride, against which he had struggled in vain, and which finally precipitated him in an abyss. His Holiness then severely condemned the whole party of Liberal Catholics. This speech produced a painful impression on his audience, some of whom, after leaving the Vatican, expressed their sorrow that so good a Catholic as Montalembert should be thus anathematised."

The Eastern schism seems to be final. A letter from Rome says:—"It is said that in Pera eight hundred or a thousand Armenian families, with thirty priests, upon hearing of the pressure put on the unfortunate Patriarch here, met, and signed a declaration that, while they accepted Rome as an authority in matters of faith, they would not submit to her discipline, and never had done so. They also took the opportunity of protesting against the Bull of the 12th of July, 1867, aimed, as they say, at the destruction of their liberties. The next day the president of the meeting went to the Grand Vizier to explain what they had done, and it seems to have met with his approbation. For the Porte gave them the temporary church of St. John Chrysostom. But the next Sunday, while seven of the priests were saying mass, the Greater Excommunication upon all within was attached to the door. Cardinal Barnabo, of the Propaganda—of course, too, poor Hassoun, the Patriarch—are telegraphing incessantly to Constantinople in the most peremptory tone; while the

two parties at Constantinople are sending messengers all over Asia Minor and Syria exhorting them—the one to be true to their Roman allegiance, the other, to stand by the old liberties. Hassoun, feeling the iron entering his soul—so long, at least, as he is here—has telegraphed that Rome will act inexorably. The Asiatics see it, and therefore will not submit to her. The present calculation is that more than a third of the 'Catholic Eastern Church' is lost to Rome, and it is clear that the priests and people who have shown such alacrity and decision have been only too glad of the opportunity to break from her."

"A lady, profoundly devoted to the Holy See," announced as a fact in the *Figaro* that there was no doubt that His Holiness the Pope was very seriously ill. The Rev. B. Rigby, a Roman Catholic priest of Batley, having also just come from Rome, writes to the *Leeds Mercury* to say that he is able to state, from a late interview with the Holy Father, that considering he is in his 78th year, he is remarkably well and lively.

Dr. Newman, in a letter to the *Standard*, denies that he has written to his bishop at Rome, stigmatising the promoters of Papal infallibility "as an insolent, aggressive faction." But he adds, "That I deeply deplore the policy, the spirit, the measures of various persons, lay and ecclesiastical, who are urging the definition of that theological opinion, I have neither intention nor wish to deny; just the contrary. But on the other hand, I have a firm belief, and have had all along, that a Greater Power than that of any man or set of men will overrule the deliberations of the Council to the determination of Catholic and Apostolic truth, and that what its Fathers eventually proclaim with one voice will be the Word of God."

Dr. Dollinger has been denounced by ecclesiastical authority. Mgr. de Senestrey, Bishop of Ratisbon, has (says the *Vatican*) addressed from Rome to his Vicar-General the following mandate:—"The arrogant and scandalous attitude assumed by the Provost Dollinger, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Munich, towards the Apostolic See and the bishops assembled in Rome, and the erroneous and most pernicious doctrines which he has published in his recent writings, impose upon me the painful duty of forbidding the students of theology in my diocese from attending the lectures of Dr. Dollinger, my conscience not allowing me to expose their faith to so noxious an influence."

A letter from Rome says:—"Pasquin has given the popular definition of the dogma in the following erigram:—'Jesus Christ, who was God, made Himself Man to save the world; Pius IX., who is man, makes himself God to damn it.'"

Bishops are now daily leaving Rome. Among the latest departures are the bishops of Japan, whom the rumour of a threatened persecution of the Christians has caused to hasten to their dioceses.

The Roman correspondent of the *Mémorial Diplomatique*, writing on the 13th of March, says that the representatives of several second-rate Catholic Powers, including Bavaria, Belgium, and Portugal, have informed Cardinal Antonelli that their Governments had entered into negotiations with the Cabinet of the Tuileries in order that, if an Ambassador Extraordinary of France should be admitted to the Council, he should also be charged with the care of their respective interests. It is that fact which, as the correspondent believes, has caused the delay in sending off to Paris the Pontifical reply to the last note of Count Daru. Although this reply will be affirmative in its character, the Cardinal Secretary of State has thought it necessary to introduce into it considerations of a general nature, it having in the first instance been confined to the particular relations established by the Concordat of 1861 between the Holy See and France.

The offertories at All Saint's, Margaret-street, London, amounted last year to 4,035/.

The proposal to withdraw the use of the Athanasian Creed from the ordinary service of the Church has been defeated in the Ritual Commission.

The death is announced of the Right Rev. Dr. Thomas Parry, Bishop of Barbadoes, at his residence in the West of England, after a long illness, at the age of seventy-five.

ANOTHER GOOD EXAMPLE IN PATRONAGE.—The congregation of the parish church of Burton-on-Trent, having been directed by the Marquis of Anglesea to elect a clergyman of their own choice to the living recently left vacant, have nominated the Rev. Charles Thornehill, M.A., of Cambridge, to the vicarage.

THE STATE CHURCH IN WALES.—Mr. Watkin Williams's motion and resolutions upon the Church in Wales, of which notice was given in the early part of the session, will not be proposed before the first Tuesday after the Easter recess. The delay is occasioned by the pressure of public business and the competition for precedence on private members' nights.

FATHER LATE IN THE DAY.—We understand (says the *John Bull*) that the Education Committee of the Convocation of Canterbury, which sat last week, has, on the motion of the Archdeacon of Taunton, affirmed, in a manner satisfactory to him, that, while Churchmen may lawfully avail themselves of a Conscience Clause should they think fit, if imposed on them by the State, it is not a solution of the question, which should emanate from the Church.

DR. VAUGHAN, THE NEW MASTER OF THE TEMPLE, has completely won the hearts of his legal parishioners. The Greek Testament class, over which he presides at eight o'clock every morning except Saturday, now consists of between thirty and forty members. In addition, he is training for the clerical office, partly at his own expense, fifteen or

sixteen young men, who are also engaged in missionary work in the adjacent parish.

PRESBYTERIAN UNION.—In view of the projected union between the English Presbyterian Church and the English section of the United Presbyterian Church, there was on Sunday a simultaneous exchange of ministers in the pulpits of the churches belonging to those denominations in Manchester and its neighbourhood. The union question, which has been agitated, more or less, for several years, is likely soon to come to a practical bearing this side of the Tweed.

FATHER IGNATIUS AND HIS MONASTERY.—On Monday morning a large number of Ritualists left London by the South-Western Railway, to attend a strange service which was being held at Laleham, near Staines. Mr. J. L. Lyne (Father Ignatius) has a monastery there in connection with the Order of St. Benedict, conducted much after the style of the monastery at Norwich. The proceedings were to commence with forty hours' prayer, a practice which prevailed in the Church before the formal institution of Lent. The "altar," it is announced, will be brilliantly decorated with flowers and lights in honour of St. Benedict, whose festival was observed on Monday, and there were to be a variety of other services in accordance with Mr. Lyne's extraordinary peculiarities.

THE GREEK ARCHBISHOP.—The Archbishop of Syra and Tenos, who has been staying with the Bishop of Winchester at his town house in St. James's-square, on Friday paid a visit to the Archbishop of Canterbury. On arriving at Addington Park, a short service was held in the chapel. The state of Dr. Tait's health, though much improved, did not admit of a protracted interview between the two Prelates; but the personal intercourse of a few minutes was sufficient (the *Times* informs us) to confirm the sentiments of mutual esteem and affection which they already entertained one for the other. After taking luncheon with the family, the Archbishop of Syra and Tenos returned to town, and was present in the evening at the adjourned debate on the Education Bill in the House of Commons. On Saturday afternoon an address was presented to the Archbishop by the English Church Union, at Freemasons' Hall. The Hon. C. L. Wood read the address. The Archbishop, in his reply, said that he should report to His Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch all the sympathy and goodwill that had been shown in this country towards the orthodox Church, and that he (the Archbishop) would leave nothing undone that lay in his power to bring to a happy accomplishment, "the truly evangelical and God-approved design" which the English Church Union was pursuing.

A NEW CHURCH MOVEMENT.—At the next meeting of Convocation both Houses will be invited to consider the questions involved in the following petition, which is receiving a large number of signatures, both of clergy and of laity:—"We, the undersigned clergymen and laymen of the Church of England, while desiring to give due honour to the Sovereign of these realms, respectfully express our belief that the title, 'Most Religious King or Queen,' in the prayer for the High Court of Parliament, being regarded as out of place in a prayer to Almighty God, gives offence to many both within and without the Church of England. We also respectfully remind your Honourable House that the offence given by this title is of long standing; that in the reign of William III. a letter was addressed to Dr. (afterwards Archbishop) Tillotson, in which the writer asks 'whether the prayers for the King and Queen may not be put in such general words as will be applicable to all circumstances, we being, as it is well known, not long since cramped by a form not without some seeming advantage to our enemies, and scandal to some of our friends'; that in the same reign a Royal Commission was issued for a review of the Liturgy; that the Commissioners, including one archbishop, seven bishops, and many other eminent divines, among whom may be named Drs. Stillington, Patrick, Tillotson, Beveridge, and Tenison, proposed that 'all high titles or appellations of the King, Queen, &c., should be left out of the prayers, such as 'most illustrious, religious, mighty,' &c., and only the word 'Sovereign' retained for the King and Queen. We believe that the omission of the words 'Under our most religious and gracious King or Queen' from the prayer for the High Court of Parliament, would meet with the general approval of the Church. We therefore respectfully approach your Honourable House with the humble petition that you will take such steps as you may deem best calculated to effect the removal of those words from the said prayer."

THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.—A paper was read on Tuesday before the Statistical Society of London by the Rev. Dr. Buchanan which gives a valuable account of the finances of the Free Church of Scotland. After explaining the steps which were necessary for the organisation of the Church in consequence of the Disruption, and describing the system founded by Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Buchanan gave a summary of the funds raised by the Free Church from 1843 to the present time. The building fund showed the following results and expenditure:—920 new churches costing 1,015,000/; 719 manse costing 467,000/; 597 schools costing 185,000/; besides local subscriptions of 100,000/; and for three theological colleges, 70,000/—total, 1,837,000/. There was also raised for the colleges a fund of 292,000/. The annual support of the ministers and churches is provided for by two funds. The first is the Sustentation Fund, which in 1843 amounted to 61,000/., but which steadily increased until in 1869 it amounted to 137,000/. After providing for other expenses, this fund gave an income of 106/ each to 470 ministers in 1843, and of 160/ each to 740 ministers in 1869.

The second fund is the Congregational Fund, which in 1843 amounted to 41,600/., but increased yearly until in 1869 it reached 126,500/. Out of this latter amount 80,000/ was appropriated to current church expenses, and the balance of 46,500/ to supplement the stipends of ministers. The three colleges are supported by annual collections of 3,000/., besides the endowment. The home and foreign missions have been carried on by annual contributions amounting, on the average of twenty-six years, to 38,000/ a year. The annual funds raised by the Free Church for all purposes for the five years 1844 to 1848, averaged 300,000/ a year; for the second five years, 290,000/ a year; for the third five years, 315,000/ a year; for the fourth five years, 335,000/ a year; and for the last five years, 1864 to 1869, averaged 336,000/ a year. The total amount raised by the Free Church from 1843 to 1869 for all purposes has been:—For the central building fund, 1,668,000/; for the sustentation fund, 2,793,000/; for the congregational fund, 2,376,000/; for education, 368,000/; for colleges, 212,000/; for missions, 983,000/; for general trustees and miscellaneous, 88,000/; and local funds, 350,000/—making a total raised during the twenty-six years of 8,838,000/.

Religious and Denominational News.

The Rev. Dr. Davies, of Ross, has received a unanimous invitation from the church at Albion-square, Pembroke Dock, and he intends beginning his stated labours in this important place in April.

The Rev. Dr. W. Pulsford, according to the wishes of his people, has resolved not to leave Glasgow, and has accordingly declined the invitations which had been addressed to him by two Congregational churches in London.

The Rev. Brawin Grant, B.A., has decided on joining the Church of England, and has published a pamphlet explaining, in his characteristic style, the reasons why he thinks Dissenters should take that step.—*Sheffield Daily Telegraph*.

HITCHIN.—On Thursday evening, March 17, the Rev. S. B. Driver, of Lancashire Independent College, was recognised as pastor of the church assembling in Queen-street Chapel, in this town. The Revs. Wm. Lawson Brown, M.A., Wm. Cuthbertson, B.A., James Gwyther, and J. Baldwin Brown, B.A., took part in the proceedings.

FARNHAM.—On Tuesday evening, the 8th inst., a deeply interesting meeting was held at the Congregational Church, Farnham, Surrey. The Rev. J. Ketley tendered his resignation to the church over which he has presided for nearly fourteen years. The senior deacon, Mr. Tilly, presented an address, accompanied by a purse of gold, in which he stated that the church accepted with pain and reluctance the resignation thus tendered, and felt that they were bound to acknowledge with deep gratitude the goodness of God in granting them a period of such uninterrupted peace and prosperity. It was their earnest prayer that their minister might be blessed and prospered in the new and difficult sphere of labour upon which he was about to enter at Gateshead. It is felt that Farnham will lose a valuable and useful leader in many of its public movements, as Mr. Ketley has been associated with most of the institutions in the town, and his labours have been attended with great success, especially among young men, and the working classes.

THE LAMBETH BATHS MEETINGS.—On Thursday night the tea-festival and public meeting, which brings to a close the series of Lambeth Baths meetings for 1869-70, were held at the Baths. Tea was served at half-past six, and the meeting, which was largely attended, commenced at half-past seven, under the presidency of Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P., who was supported by the Earl of Shaftesbury, Sir J. C. Lawrence, Bart., M.P., the Rev. G. M. Murphy, and other friends of the movement. The proceedings having been opened with prayer, the Chairman said he was present to give expression to his continued hearty sympathy with his friend Mr. Morley. In a certain sense he was a partner in these proceedings, and he thought he might undertake to say that he never made an investment of mere money with more satisfaction as to the results than he had found in connection with the work in the Lambeth Baths. The work was not dependent upon great names, or even upon individuals. There was a large division of labour, and a great readiness to undertake the work which was meant to benefit those among whom they were living. Every day he lived, he became more convinced than ever that they had not yet solved the problem how they could effectually get at the sympathy of the masses of the population. The great difficulty was to find out the mode, without dogmatism, without dissension, of reaching the masses in a spirit of loving sympathy. Some people were specially gifted for a work like that, and there was immense value in what he might call the neutral ground afforded by the Lambeth Baths, which belonged to no denomination, because they left their politics and denominationalism at the door when they came in. They knew nothing of Church or Dissent there; they wanted to see men and women more Christian-like. He congratulated Mr. Morley and his fellow-workmen, and he was thoroughly satisfied they could not bring such hearty sympathy to bear upon others as they had done without undoubtedly receiving large rewards for such services. The Rev. G. M. Murphy then read the report, which gave a hopeful retrospect of the educational work—chief in it moral education—performed during the session just closed. It appeared that from November 6th, 1869, to March 17th, 1870,

there had been held—temperance and alliance meetings, 32; newspaper readings, music, and singing, 19; political, social, and educational gatherings, 14; religious meetings, 13; concerts and entertainments, 13; United Kingdom Band of Hope Union dissolving views, 12; scientific lectures (Mr. T. Twining's course), 9; popular lectures on various subjects, 9; total meetings, 121; aggregate attendance, 90,000. The course of scientific lectures, arranged and provided by Mr. T. Twining, Perryn House, Twickenham, was well attended. The drawing-class, in connection with the Art and Science Department, South Kensington, still held on its way. The expenditure had amounted to 93*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.*, and the receipts to 89*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.* Mr. S. Morley, M.P., had, as in past years, generously paid the rent of the room, and Mr. Sandell found the fittings. The Earl of Shaftesbury, in moving the adoption of the report, said he saw in the results of the past session so many proofs of the capacity, good faith, intellectual progress, and moral energy of a very large proportion of the working classes. He impressed upon them the necessity of not alone cultivating the intellect, but of training up the moral virtues. Sir J. C. Lawrence, M.P., seconded the resolution, and said that institution had been referred to as an educational one. It was so, because as they met from time to time, they had to congratulate each other on the progress which had been made in moral and intellectual cultivation. The resolution was carried. Mr. M. Young moved, and the Rev. George Mordant seconded, a vote of thanks to Mr. Twining and all friends who had aided the meetings at the Baths. The motion was carried. Mr. W. Booker moved, and Mr. W. J. Allen seconded, the last resolution, which was carried, as follows:—"That the best thanks of the meeting be given to Mr. S. Morley, M.P., not only for his liberality in paying the rent of the room, but also for his able conduct in the chair, and to the deputations, speakers, and musicians who have favoured us with their presence, counsel, and entertainment." The prizes of 2*l.* and 1*l.* given by Mr. Twining were awarded respectively to Messrs. Neil and Baxter, and Messrs. Clayton, Collier, and Tether received certificates. The proceedings were closed with the Doxology.

Correspondence.

THE CONSCIENCE CLAUSE IN RURAL DISTRICTS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Will you allow me to call the attention of your readers to the enclosed letter, from our local newspaper of this date? The writer is the Wesleyan minister stationed in our town. The clergyman mentioned is an eminent member of the Low-Church party, and his conduct publicly is that of friendship to Dissenters. We have a British School in this town for boys and girls, but none for younger children.

What we may expect in this neighbourhood from the Conscience Clause proposed in Mr. Forster's Bill may be readily inferred. In all probability the parties at the head of the present infant school would obtain the control of the local board, and we know what would be their action towards the children of Nonconformist parents.

The battle is one for the country districts. Unless we are willing that the religious instruction of children in districts like the one around this town shall be given over entirely into the hands of the dominant sect, let us, as Nonconformists, never consent to the obnoxious clauses in the Government Bill.

Yours,

THOMAS C. UDALL,
Secretary to the Faringdon British School.
Faringdon, March 19, 1870.

To the Editor of the Faringdon Advertiser.

SIR,—While the mind of the nation is occupied with the subject of education, and the Bill is now before the House of Commons, will you allow me to lay before the public the following instance of tyranny, which shows the way in which "conscience clauses" can be evaded? There is one infant school in this town. It is supported by school pence, subscriptions, and the Government grant. It is in the hands of a committee, of which the vicar is the head. It is submitted to Government inspection. The impression is, that it was commenced to meet the wants of the town, and that children of all denominations would be admitted. Several of the children of our parents have attended the Wesleyan Sunday-school. The teacher of the infants school told them they must not, or they would have to leave the day-school. Last Monday morning, two of our Sunday-school scholars were turned out into the street, and some very threatening language was used to the parent by the teacher, as to the consequences. Sir, is it right to receive 60*l.* a year from the taxes of the country to support a school, and then to treat children in this manner? Is it not the surest and the safest way to embitter worldly men against professors of religion? Is it not a flagrant violation of the highest law in the universe, "Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you"? Is it Christian to shelter under the wing of a bye-law, and trample upon the most sacred feelings of men and women? I appeal to the common sense and Christian feeling of this town, if it is not high time to make a stand against such treatment, and do all in our power to overthrow this system of tyranny, and with our fathers' banner of liberty in our hands, cry, with a voice like thunder, "No surrender!"

BUCKLEY YATES, Wesleyan Minister.
Faringdon, March 17, 1870.

THE PRUSSIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

MY DEAR SIR,—A small book has just appeared bearing on the subject of education in Prussia, indeed on the educational question generally, of which I fancy a brief notice may be interesting to some of your readers. It is from the pen of one of the principal inspectors of schools in the province of Brandenburg, and bears the title, "Supplementary Instruction in Connection with the Common Schools a Means of Educating the people." The author starts with an inquiry into the, for us, very significant questions:—"Why is it that notwithstanding the acknowledged excellence of the Prussian Common School System we find so much coarseness and ignorance in the lower classes? Why is it that when males enter on an independent calling, and females become housewives, they have so frequently lost the ideas and knowledge which are familiar to children of from twelve to fourteen years of age?" The answer he gives strikes me as a very inadequate one. It amounts to this, that at the age of fourteen, when most children leave school, they are too unripe to have really appropriated what has been taught them, and that accordingly they soon lose it entirely. Now, as the necessity for earning their bread prevents most children from remaining a longer time at school, the proposal is made that evening classes should be formed in connection with all the common schools for young people between the age of fourteen and twenty, attendance on which should be obligatory. This supplementary instruction is to be given by the usual schoolmasters; and the writer hopes that an opportunity will thus be secured for the clergy continuing to exercise an influence on those who have been confirmed—which it is well known they now do not exercise, and in many cases are unable to exercise.

This little book interested me greatly for various reasons.

I have for several years believed that the general intelligence and refinement of the labouring classes of England were quite as high as those of the same classes in Germany, notwithstanding the defectiveness of our school system. Any additional outward coarseness with which these classes may be chargeable in England is quite accounted for by our greater liberty of movement, consequent independence of character and manner, and by differences of temperament. My expression of this conviction has sometimes been regarded as a piece of English conceit and prejudice; but here is a testimony in the same direction from a man who certainly ought to know.

The reasons I should assign for the resultlessness of Prussian schools are the very reasons why our labouring classes are not in so low a state as the lack of schooling would cause one to expect. First, the absence of the freedom of movement, which, whilst capable of being an occasion of roughness, is also the great awakener of intelligence. Secondly, the lack of the public meetings and discussions on political and religious matter, of which some people think we have too many. Thirdly, the less part played by the Church and its authorities in the life of the nation. In other words, the good start is lost in Prussia for the lack of the stimulus supplied by public life; whereas with us the bad start is supplemented by the educational influences which pervade our atmosphere both in town and country.

The observations just made tell in two ways. They are an encouragement to us to go on with our educational schemes; for we may surely reasonably hope that under the fructifying influences presented by our national life, good schools will produce much fairer fruits here than they have hitherto produced in Prussia. On the other hand, they should discourage the extravagant talk in which most of the "liberal," by which I understand anti-Christian, advocates of popular education indulge, as though the common school alone were to be the future panacea for, at all events a good share of, the woes and vices of our native land. By themselves they will effect comparatively little for the classes most needing them. If they are supplemented by general stimulants, especially by such as arise out of our religious activities, they may do a world of good.

I will just add a word on one aspect of the possible influence of secular on Sunday-schools. My belief is—and it is a belief based on observations made in connection with Sunday-schools in Germany—that if we had good secular schools doing the work now frequently done in part by Sunday-schools, the latter would become more purely religious, and therefore more attractive to children. If the Sunday-school system has the vitality to which it lays claim, and if it is destined to occupy a permanent position in our ecclesiastical organisations, at all events until every father becomes a religious teacher, the effect of a thorough common-school system will probably be to call into existence a more spiritual class of teachers, more attractive modes of conducting services, and to set aside much of the twittering, dull, "wooden" labour now too frequently bestowed—bestowed, I fear, more to the benefit of the teachers than of the taught. From my own experience I can testify that Sunday-schools are a much more pleasing affair in Germany than they are here. Why? Because they can be, and are, less schoolish and more like services adapted to the needs of children.

Yours,

SIGMA.

THE GOVERNMENT EDUCATION BILL.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—To make this measure of the greatest value to the country, several changes are admitted to be necessary in Mr. Forster's Bill. You, Sir, and Nonconformists in general, hold very justly that rate-paid schools should be wholly unsectarian. The National Education League insist that compulsion must not be left to the adoption of the local school boards, but must be enforced everywhere by State authority; and they ask that the school boards may be appointed without delay. Another body of Educationists, of whom Sir John Pakington is perhaps the most illustrious representative, consider that national education will never be properly cared for until we have a *bona fide* Minister of Education. Agreeing in the necessity of each of these provisions, I shall not presume to ask for space in your columns to show why I think them needful. The points *pro* and *con* have been put over and over again by men of the greatest ability, and are doubtless quite familiar to your readers. But assuming that these things are granted, there are still many details as to the constitution of school boards, the provision of inspection, the character and the time of elementary schooling, the facilities for passing from a lower to a higher class of education which have not received that public attention and discussion which they deserve; and the question arises whether they had not better be dealt with at once, so that the Education Bill may be made as complete as possible, and best fitted for the immediate good of the nation. Under these circumstances I venture to submit the following suggestions on these points to your consideration.

First, there are the school boards. It does not seem advisable that there should be a needless multiplication of these boards throughout the country. Instead of being parochial they might be for a union of parishes; in fact, as there are unions of parishes for Poor-law purposes, so there might be for educational purposes. The size of the union would be determined according to the numbers and convenience of its population. The board should consist of representatives from each parish in the union or district, who should be elected as poor-law guardians now are or in whatever mode may be thought best. As Welshmen consider the ballot necessary, there is no reason why it should not be tried experimentally in these elections. Boards are proverbially bad administrators; and these school boards, composed in the country of parsons and farmers, are not likely to prove exceptions to the rule. The boards therefore should have no independent executive powers given to them; but as representatives of the ratepayers in the district, their advice and authority would be invaluable and indispensable to that officer whom I suggest should be appointed by the Government to each school district. This officer I should name school inspector, and his duty should be to superintend the primary education of his district. He should be required to obtain the authority of the school board before taking any action; such measures as he might think wanted should be proposed by him to the board at its weekly or fortnightly meetings; and if after full discussion they should be approved by the board, they might then be carried into effect, subject, however, to the approval of the Ministry of Education. The primary schools in the district should always be under this officer's inspection; the efficiency of the teachers would be carefully looked after by him; he should be bound to attend to all inquiries on educational matters addressed to him by the inhabitants of the district, to see that compulsion was thoroughly carried out therein, and to prosecute at law those parents who neglected to obey the Act. Of course, should such officers be appointed, the need for travelling inspectors would cease. These district school inspectors would hold the quarterly, half-yearly, or annual examinations which might be thought necessary to test the efficacy of the education given in the primary schools. They should be required to examine any pupil at whatever time the pupil's parents or guardians might wish their child or ward to be examined.

The arguments in favour of the appointment of Government School Inspectors coincide to some extent with those used by the advocates for a Minister of Education. So, for instance, does that which assumes that a man who has made the study of education his business, is more likely to know how education may be efficiently administered in a district than the amateur members of a school board whose business in life has been to master metaphysics or to meditate on mangold-wurzels. It is so manifest that permanent superintendence by a skilled officer must be superior to the intermittent capriciousness of a board which must justify its existence by occasional outbreaks of disgust at the way things are going, that I do not care to dwell on that argument. The expense of establishing such a system of officers throughout the country must, of course, be very carefully considered; but if that be weighed against the greater efficiency of education which would be secured under the system I have proposed, I firmly believe the fuller advantages would be well worth the heavier cost. However that may be, it would be well that the question should be investigated by Parliament and the press. Let us not repeat the experiment already tried for the administration of the Poor Law, which has failed so miserably wherever any serious occasion has arisen to test it. Let us not set up a St. Pancras School

Board, the exact facsimile of the St. Pancras Board of Guardians. Doubtless the truly British horror of centralisation will set the hairs of many a steady-going citizen on end when such a revolutionary proposal as this meets his eyes. But let such a one consider what truly constitutional checks there will exist upon centralisation under this system. The District Inspector can do nothing without the authority of the School Board; and though the School Board may be overruled by the Minister of Education, yet he in turn is responsible to the House of Commons—the representatives of the people.

I had intended, Sir, to write further, as to the character and time of primary education, and the necessary facilities for perfecting it. But this letter has already reached such a length that I fear at this busy Parliamentary time you will hardly have room for it. Yet, should you find it deserving of a place in your columns, I hope you will allow me to continue the subject in a second letter.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
GEORGE FRASER.

169, Camden-road, N.W.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS BILL.

On Thursday, on the order of the day for the second reading of the Ecclesiastical Courts Bill, Lord HALIFAX appealed to Lord Shaftesbury to postpone the bill till after Easter, when it was hoped the Archbishop of Canterbury would be in his place. The appeal was seconded by Lord Salisbury and the Bishops of London and Winchester, and Lord Westbury joined in the recommendation. Lord SHAFTESBURY said that the Archbishop of Canterbury and himself each brought in a measure on this subject last session. Both bills were referred to a Select Committee, but his measure was taken as a basis of legislation. Two or three amendments were made in it, which did not, however, affect the principle. The bill came down too late last session to become law, and he had now introduced it again just as it came from the committee. He deprecated the postponement of a bill which would remedy some of the greatest abuses of the Church, but after the appeals made to him he had no alternative. The second reading was then postponed until after Easter.

NATURALISATION BILL.

On the report of the bill, the LORD CHANCELLOR consented to omit Clause 8, and to adopt Lord Westbury's amendment providing that a natural-born British subject who, by being the son of foreign parents, was also the subject of a foreign State, should be enabled to make a declaration of allegiance, and so cease to be a British subject. Lord Houghton expressed a hope that there would be as little negotiation with foreign Governments as possible upon the subject of naturalisation.

Their Lordships adjourned at twenty minutes to six.

On Friday the Lord Chancellor introduced the Transfer of Land Bill, which was read a first time. He will explain its provisions on the second reading.

THE GOVERNMENT LAW REFORMS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR moved the second reading of the High Court of Justice Bill and the Appellate Jurisdiction Bill, and explained their provisions in detail. It is proposed that there shall be established a Court, to be called the High Court of Justice of England; the judges to be the Lord Chancellor (Lord President) and the following permanent judges, viz., the Lord Chief Justice of England and such number of ordinary judges not exceeding twenty-one as shall be determined by Order in Council. The permanent judges are to be divided into five divisional courts, to be styled the Courts of Chancery, Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, Exchequer, and the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Court; each court to be under the control of a Lord-President. There is to be vested in the High Court of Justice the jurisdiction now vested in the Court of Chancery, the Superior Courts of Common Law, and the Courts of Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty. Proceedings are to be instituted in the High Court of Justice, and to be transferable from one divisional court to another. The Home Circuit is to be abolished. The other bill—the Appellate Jurisdiction Bill—establishes one Court of Appeal for hearing appeals from the High Court of Justice or the London Court of Bankruptcy (the Chief Judge in Bankruptcy becoming a judge in the High Court of Justice), and for considering questions of law reserved on criminal trials. The judges of the High Court of Appeal are to be the Lord Chancellor, the Chief Justice, the Master of the Rolls, four ordinary Judges of Appeal (the present Lord Justice of Appeal and three judges to be appointed by the Crown), and three judges of the High Court of Justice, to be selected annually by Her Majesty, these continuing to perform also their duties in the High Court of Justice. An appeal will lie from the High Court of Appeal to the ultimate Court of Appeal—viz., the Privy Council or the House of Lords—where an appeal now lies to those tribunals.

After some remarks from Lord Westbury, Lord Penance, Lord Romilly, Lord Chelmsford, Lord Denman, Lord Grey, the Duke of Richmond, and Lord Redesdale, the two bills were read a second time.

The Naturalisation Bill was read a third time and

passed, and after some further business, the House adjourned at half-past eight o'clock.

On Monday Lord REDSDALE called attention to an error in the Scotch Parochial Schools Bill of last year, returned to their Lordships by the House of Commons on the 7th of August, as an illustration of the inconvenience of hurried legislation at so late a period of the season. The Duke of ARGYLL, in reply, quoted the proverb "that there was no use in crying over spilt milk." The Government, he said, hoped to be able to introduce another Scotch Education Bill similar to that of last session.

At the request of the Duke of MARLBOROUGH and Lord HARDWICKE, certain papers were promised by the Government in regard to the constitution of the Board of Admiralty.

Lord CLANRICARDE, in moving for returns relative to Irish crimes and outrages, and the proclamation of districts by the Lord Lieutenant, urged upon the Government the necessity for prompt and decisive action in regard to Ireland. Lord DUFFERIN disputed a remark made by Lord Clanricarde that the legislation in regard to the Church had produced an angry and disloyal feeling in Ireland.

In reply to Lord Hardinge, Lord GRANVILLE said the Government had under consideration some contemplated changes at the National Gallery.

The Income Tax Assessment Bill was read a third time and passed.

The House adjourned at half-past six o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE GAME LAWS.

The first measure that came under the consideration of the House on Wednesday afternoon was Mr. W. MARTIN's Bill to amend the Game Laws, so as to permit tenants to kill hares and rabbits. The member for Rochester, in moving its second reading, undertook to withdraw the clause which would have set aside all contracts in evasion of the bill; and, Sir G. GRAY having pointed out that this amounted to a practical abandonment of the bill, Mr. BRUCE promised that the Government would deal with this question in England as well as in Scotland. This assurance proved satisfactory to Mr. Martin, and he at once withdrew his bill.

THE BALLOT.

The second reading of the Ballot Bill was next moved by Mr. LEATHAM in a long speech, which, over and above the time-worn arguments in favour of secret voting, travelled minutely through the evidence given before the recent committee, which, he added, had sanctioned the principle of the bill. This evidence, he maintained, showed that the law, even as amended by Mr. Disraeli's Act, was quite powerless to deal with bribery, intimidation, and treating, and the chief effect of the trials before the election judges had been to buoy out a course along which those who wished to evade the law could safely steer. The ballot, he argued, appealing to the experience of the colonies and foreign countries, was the only means of arresting electoral crimes before they were committed, and without it there could be no freedom of election.

The Marquis of HARTINGTON complained that Mr. Leatham had placed both the Government and the House in a false position by forcing the committee to precipitate its report on Tuesday, and now, by pressing forward his bill before that report was in the hands of members. Calling to mind the circumstances under which this committee was appointed, he assured the House that the Government, which was responsible for it, would take the earliest opportunity of considering the report. In fact, on some of the questions examined into (not including the ballot), he and Mr. Bright had already been in consultation with the law officers. Personally, he concurred entirely in that paragraph which recommended the ballot, but he had not yet had an opportunity of consulting with his colleagues on it. Under the circumstances, the Government, he stated, would not oppose the second reading of this bill, but it was on the understanding that the next stage should be postponed until they had had the opportunity of considering the report, and, if necessary, of preparing a bill of their own. If the course of public business would allow, he saw no reason why the Government should not deal with all the matters inquired into by the committee, including the Ballot, but he held them perfectly uncommitted.

Mr. HARDY was ready to assent to this course, upon the understanding that he and his friends were not to be regarded as expressing any approval of the principle of the bill; but Mr. LIDDELL felt bound to oppose the second reading of the bill, and to repeat the well-known arguments against the ballot as inconsistent with the principle of the Constitution that the vote is a trust, and calculated to permeate all our social relations with a dangerous and demoralising secrecy.

Mr. BERNAL OSBORNE, who addressed the House with all his old vivacity, expressed a complete approval of the course taken by Mr. Leatham, because nothing was ever got from a Government without hurrying it, and he doubted whether the Postmaster-General would not find so much to do in setting the telegraphs to rights as to prevent his undertaking legislation upon the subject. The hon. gentleman excited a good deal of laughter by his jocose references to his own electioneering experience, especially when he said that he had left Nottingham because it was a little too lively for him, but had not benefited much by the change; described himself and Mr. Heron as "two popular members who were obliged to fly for their lives"; and asserted, as a general characteristic of Irish elections, that the

elector was required to go to the poll, and take the chance of returning on a shutter.

Mr. NEWDEGATE was so indignant that the second reading of this bill should have been proposed before the report of the committee was in the hands of members, that he moved the adjournment of the debate; but Sir GEORGE GRAY, who expressed himself favourable to the ballot as likely to mitigate both bribery and intimidation, did not think it necessary to adopt this course, but was prepared to assent to the second reading upon the terms suggested by Lord Hartington. Sir S. NORTHCOLT inclined rather to the adjournment of the debate, and in this view he was supported by Colonel W. PATTEN, who indignantly protested against a declaration by Mr. Leatham, that he should regard, and the country would accept, a division on the adjournment as a vote upon the principle of the bill. Upon a division the motion for the adjournment was defeated by a majority of 110—226 to 116. Then Colonel BARTHOLOMEW moved the adjournment of the House, and after the usual wrangling discussion, this was defeated by a similar majority, the numbers, however, being somewhat different—viz., 220 to 110. By this time there remained only a quarter of an hour of the period allotted to discussion, and Lord C. J. HAMILTON, commenting severely upon the absence of the chief Ministers and leaders of the Opposition, moved the adjournment of the debate. This motion was seconded by Mr. LEATHAM, who fixed Tuesday, May 3, for the resumption of the discussion; and after Mr. AYATON had volunteered an explanation of the absence of the Prime Minister, which the House seemed to regard as rather amusing than satisfactory, was agreed to without a division.

ANNUITY-TAX (EDINBURGH) BILL.

Mr. M'LAREN stated that the Government having taken this question out of his hands, he had now to move that the order of the day for the adjourned debate on the second reading of the bill be discharged. At the same time, he must say he did not hold himself as at all concurring in any bill the Government had introduced till he saw it, and he should consider himself at liberty to express any opinion he thought fit when the measure came before the House. The order of the day was discharged, and the bill withdrawn.

The Registration of Voters Bill, which stood for a second reading, was, on the motion of Mr. H. R. BRAND, referred to a select committee "to inquire into the laws affecting the registration of Parliamentary voters in counties in England and Wales." The House adjourned at ten minutes to six o'clock.

On Thursday, Mr. SHAW LEFEBVRE, in reply to a question from Sir J. Pakington as to the City of Boston, read a letter from Mr. Inman, in which he denied that she was overladen, and expressed his confident belief that she is still afloat.

Mr. CHILDERS acknowledged that there had been a serious outbreak of small-pox and scarlatina amongst the naval cadets on board Her Majesty's ship Britannia; and stated at length the measures which have been adopted to prevent the spread of these diseases, and to promote the recovery of those who have been attacked by them.

THE FENIAN CONVICTS.

In reply to questions by Mr. G. H. MOORE, Mr. GLADSTONE said that, though the statements alleging that the Fenian convicts had been ill-treated had been categorically denied by the authorities, the Government was of opinion that it would be just and politic to institute an inquiry by a commission so constituted as to place its report above suspicion from any quarter. Two of the prisoners who had become insane during their incarceration had been released; but with respect to the case of Burke, his insanity was judged to be only temporary, and, though he was treated as an invalid, it was not thought desirable to free him altogether. In answer to the last question of the hon. member, Mr. Gladstone stated, amidst loud and general cheers, that in view of the present state of Ireland, and upon the eve of the introduction of a special measure for the preservation of the peace of that country, the Government did not think that the time had come for extending the amnesty of last year, and throwing open the prison doors to the leaders of the disaffection.

REPRESSION OF CRIME IN IRELAND.

The orders of the day having been postponed, Mr. C. FORTESCUE moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better preservation of peace in Ireland. When the right hon. gentleman rose to perform that task, the House was not excessively crowded, but there was a very large attendance of "strangers," and the gallery allotted to peers and distinguished personages was quite full. The Chief Secretary did not conceal the regret with which he asked the House to confor upon the Government increased powers for the repression and punishment of crime; but at the same time declared that he performed this duty without any doubt or hesitation as to the propriety and necessity of the measure which he had to recommend. He entered at some length into the statistics of the subject, in order to show that, although agrarian crime is now so rife in Ireland as to demand special action on the part of the Government, there have been years in which the number of offences committed has been greater, and their character more serious; and having described the general characteristic of the existing crime as "intimidation," and explained the measures which the Government have already adopted to deal with it, and the difficulties with which they have had to contend, pro-

ceeded to explain the provisions of the measure which he was asking leave to introduce. The bill will remain in force for a limited period only, and some of its clauses will apply to all districts proclaimed by the Lord Lieutenant, some to districts specially proclaimed, and some to the whole of Ireland. In all proclaimed districts a game licence will not entitle a person to carry arms, and special licences will be required to authorise the carrying of revolvers; and the punishment for offences against the clauses dealing with the bearing of arms will be increased to two years' imprisonment with hard labour. Resident magistrates and police superintendents will be authorised, under warrants remaining in force for three months, to search for arms at any hour of the day or night: and facilities will be given for searching for documents in connection with threatening letters. Arms and ammunition must not be sold except to persons having licences to carry arms. The magistrates will be empowered to commit witnesses who refuse to give evidence upon inquiries into offences as well as upon the trial of prisoners, and to refuse bail in the case of all persons charged with having arms in their possession without a licence. In districts specially proclaimed the police may arrest persons whom they find out at night under suspicious circumstances, and if the persons so arrested cannot give a good reason for being out, the magistrates may commit them to prison for a period not exceeding six months. The Lord-Lieutenant may, by warrant, close public-houses after sunset. The justices may call before them strangers found in the district under suspicious circumstances, and if they cannot give an account of their business, may require them to find sureties to keep the peace. Magistrates in petty sessions may summarily commit for six months persons offending against the Arms Act, or going about armed; and the Crown will be empowered to change, by application to the Court of Queen's Bench, the venue of the trial of any offence. All over Ireland restrictions will be placed upon the sale of gunpowder and arms; power will be given to arrest witnesses who have absconded, or are about to abscond; and grand juries will be authorised to give compensation, to be levied on such part of the county as they please to any one who has been the subject of violence, or to the family or representatives of a person who has been murdered. In order to put a stop to the circulation of a number of weekly periodicals and newspapers which are filled with treasonable and seditious writing, and excite the mind of the people against law and the constitution of the country, the Lord-Lieutenant will be authorised, upon his responsibility, to seize the plant and all copies of any newspaper, wherever found or printed, which may contain matter which is treasonable, or felonious, or incites to felony. Parties who may think themselves aggrieved will have a right of a tion against the officer who executes the office, and if the verdict is in their favour they will recover damages against the Crown, to be assessed by the jury. The statement of Mr. Fortescue was listened to with unflinching attention by the House, but did not elicit many expressions of opinion. Only the provisions as to the granting of compensation to injured persons, and the seizure of newspapers, were received with decided manifestations of approval.

Sir F. HEYGATE expressed a general approval of the measure; but could not forego the opportunity of affirming that one principal cause of the prevalence of crime and disorder in Ireland arose from the expectations which had been held out to the people by members of the Government. Dr. BRADY objected to the assessment of compensation by grand juries. Sir GEORGE GRAY and Colonel W. PATTEN, from different sides of the House, alike deprecated any general discussion of the bill until it was in the hands of members. Mr. CONOLLY thought the measure entirely inadequate, and recommended the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and the increase of the powers of the magistracy; while Sir P. O'BRIEN doubted whether it was wise to commit to the magistrates even so much authority as they would obtain under this bill until the commissions of the peace had undergone revision. Mr. CHARLEY, who caught the Speaker's eye for the first time this session, addressed the House at some length upon the faults of the Irish policy of the Government, and, apparently to his own satisfaction, accounted for the present disturbed state of Ireland by the assertion, that in passing the Irish Church Bill the Ministry had "stript from its socket the choicest jewel of the Crown and cast it before the Fenian swine."

Mr. GLADSTONE replied to this charge, and announced that the bill would be read a second time on the following Monday, and pressed forward with all possible speed. The point raised as to grand juries, he intimated, would be open to reconsideration in committee; and to the suggestion of Sir F. Heygate as to taking the verdict of a majority of the jury, he replied that it had not escaped the attention of the Government; but they were of opinion that such a change would be to cast an undesired stigma on Irish juries. Any change ought to be of a permanent character and part of a general scheme. He gave expression to his deep regret at having to suspend the progress of the Land Bill for this measure. As to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, though the Government would take up no fixed resolution against it, they would postpone until the last moment the application of a remedy so full of objection.

Sir J. GRAY protested against the additional powers for obtaining evidence, and against the press clauses, but after the SOLICITOR-GENERAL for IRELAND had gone over again the principal provisions, the bill was ordered to be brought in.

NAVAL RETIREMENT.

On the motion for going into Committee of Supply on the Navy Estimates, Lord HENRY LENNOX moved that it was inexpedient to retire flag-officers from the active list of the navy from any cause other than that of age or physical infirmity, supporting his resolution upon the grounds of economy and justice. Mr. WHITEHEAD seconded the motion, which was supported by Mr. CORRY and Admiral ERSKINE. Mr. CHILDERS defended the scheme from the charge of incurring increased expenditure, and showed that the ultimate result would be a considerable saving in the Estimates. Sir John Pakington, Mr. Hanbury Tracy, Mr. Magniac, Sir James Elphinstone, and Mr. Bouverie having spoken on the motion, Mr. GLADSTONE briefly replied, and the House divided, the resolution being thrown out by 169 votes against 136.

A couple of votes were agreed to in Committee of Supply; and, after disposing of some other business, the House adjourned at a quarter to one o'clock.

On Friday, in answer to Mr. Callan, Mr. C. FORTESCUE said the revision of the list of the Irish magistracy was going on slowly, but the Government could not undertake to consider so grave a question as was pointed at by the first part of the question of the hon. gentleman, namely, the abolition of the present system by which magistrates were appointed without pay or emolument.

Mr. GLADSTONE said in reply to Mr. Pim that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is considering the propriety of reducing the duty on leases, but he did not hold out to Mr. Pim any hope that the amount fixed by the Irish Land Bill will be so low as one shilling.

In reply to Mr. O. White, Mr. OTWAY stated that the information received by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs was confirmatory of a statement in the *London and China Telegraph* of the 7th and 14th inst., as to the expulsion of native Christians by the Japanese authorities from the treaty port of Nagasaki. Sir H. Parker had made remonstrances to the Japanese authorities on the subject, and the result was that an order had been issued to the Governor of Nagasaki to stop the deportation of native Christians that had been for some time going on; but there was reason to believe that the order had arrived too late, inasmuch as 2,800 Christians had been sent into the interior, and only 200 had been allowed to remain.

In reply to Mr. Howard, Mr. GLADSTONE said that the Government looked to the 40th clause of the Irish Land Bill for the purpose of promoting the reclamation of waste lands in Ireland, but it would not make adequate provision for the water-logged valleys, which would be a subject for after consideration.

THE EDUCATION BILL.

The debate on the second reading of the Elementary Education Bill was resumed by

Mr. VERNON HARCOURT, who represented that the Government was at this disadvantage in dealing with the religious difficulty, that of the two of its members who had addressed the House, Mr. Forster "did not understand it," and Mr. Lowe "did not care about it." The vital principle of this bill he described as denominational education, the character of which should be decided by an accidental majority. The object of the amendment was to establish the opposite principle of religious equality which the Government themselves applied to the Irish Church last year. No conscience clause could cure the radical injustice of the measure. The House must again choose between levelling up and levelling down. They must either provide a religious instruction in which all could share, or must give none at all; and in his opinion the true solution of the question was to be found in the latter expedient. Of one thing he was certain—that if the question of religion was to be left to the decision of the majority of a dominant sect, the House neither ought nor would give to the school boards a power either of levying rates or compelling the attendance of children. "You must not, will not, shall not have either compulsion or rating in a free country," were the words of the hon. and learned gentleman. At the close of his speech he referred to the apt description of the existing Parliamentary situation at a "lover's quarrel," and appealed to the Prime Minister, whom, since the Liberal party plighted their troth, they had never failed to "love, honour, and obey;" "to obey"—as he explained when this last word excited some laughter from the Opposition "not in a slavish spirit, but in the spirit of a service which is perfect freedom"—to find some solution of this difficulty, which, while securing the principle of religious equality, should reconcile the supporters of the amendment to the provisions of the bill.

Sir CHARLES ADDERLEY gave a general support to the proposals of the Government, and condemned the amendment on the ground that, while professedly directed to the establishment of religious equality, it would establish a secular system of education throughout the whole country without reference to the varying wants of different districts. He deprecated all unnecessary compulsion. No class of children, except the most neglected and vagrant, should be subject to compulsion of any sort. Educational means to the fullest extent should be provided throughout the country, and the natural demand for it should be stimulated in every possible way. He looked with the greatest confidence and hope to that clause of the bill making a last appeal to the voluntary principle, and, feeling that no better means of

supplying the deficiency left by the voluntary system could be found than that devised by the bill, he would give a cordial vote for its second reading. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. MUNDELLA had viewed with satisfaction the introduction of the measure, and though he discovered in it some serious defects, a better acquaintance with it had not made him less grateful to his right hon. friend for introducing it. The bill, in his opinion, had received some very unfair criticisms from members on his own side of the House. The hon. member for Stroud, in a speech which seemed to him more characterised by culture than charity, said public faith was not pledged to the maintenance of existing schools, and he agreed in this, but public honour and public policy were, in his view, so pledged. If these were not to be maintained, we must commence with the destruction of all that existed. He never felt so strongly as after the hon. and learned gentleman's speech the necessity of a separation of Church and State. What he chiefly complained of in that speech was the pleading for delay, that the bill might be postponed to next session, when public opinion, now slowly forming, would have declared itself. He believed there was no subject on which public opinion had so strongly declared itself as on this of education. The feeling of the country was entirely in favour of compulsory education. If we assented to a year's delay in order to settle the religious question, should we be in a better condition to do so after a year's religious rancour and controversy? (Cheers.) If we delayed, another million of children must grow up in ignorance, and be condemned to misery and vice. If we attempted to deal with it, it would be changed into an irreligious difficulty. He (Mr. Mundella) had received his education at a national school, and he thanked God for the Biblical knowledge he had received there. Rather than consent to the exclusion of the Bible, he would never enter the doors of that House again. What he wished to see was a conscience clause which should separate the religious from the secular teaching. (Hear, hear.) If the amendment went to a division, which he trusted it would not, he should say "No" to it, and he earnestly trusted that the bill might pass. Circumstances had forced upon his attention, willingly or not, the educational condition of the people of this country in contrast with that of other countries. The truth was something that could hardly be understood or realised. The darkest pages of our educational history were written in the paper of Mr. Fearon, and showed the state of degradation to which we had been reduced. In the large towns of Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Sheffield, containing a population of 1,500,000, there were but 150,000 children of the age of ten to fifteen years, and these stowed away in garret-schools, cellar-schools, and all sorts of miserable and pestiferous places. In Germany, out of such a population, there would be 250,000 children attending school for a period of eight years. But numbers and quantity were not all; there was still a darker picture behind, and that was the quality. He had taken printed copies of the sixth standard during the recess, and sent them over to North Germany, Prussia, Saxony, and Switzerland, and he was told in answer that it was behind the lowest standard of those countries. We had never yet passed 20,000 children in one year, while old Prussia passed nearly 380,000 every year. This was the relative measure of English and foreign education, yet we were asked for delay, and the right hon. gentleman who had just sat down deprecated compulsion. Paupers were being manufactured every day; they were growing up in a state of willing dependence with no longer any desire to help themselves—a fact attributable more to the lack of education than to any other cause. He trusted the right hon. gentleman would make this bill a magnificent example of modern legislation by making all that was permissive in it absolute, and the religious difficulty clear and explicit. If he did so he would confer an honour on himself and on his Government, which would survive to the end of English history, because it would be the charter of the intellectual freedom of the English people. (Cheers.)

From this point the most remarkable characteristic of the debate was the large number of candidates to catch Mr. Speaker's eye. As each speaker sat down the competitors for his succession grew more numerous, and at one time there were at least a score of members on their feet on the Ministerial side alone.

Sir HENRY HOARE said the bill would not satisfy his constituents, who objected to schools supported by rates in which religious instruction was given; who maintained that the money of the taxpayers should not be expended on religious instruction; and that if any such instruction were provided, it should be imparted either before or after the ordinary school hours. The bill seemed to him to be framed with a view to secure the ascendancy of the Church of England; and he could not believe in the efficiency of a conscience clause in the rural parishes. In his opinion the Government should accept the amendments of the hon. member for Stroud. He was sorry to oppose the best Ministry England ever possessed, but he must take that course unless they satisfactorily settled the religious question.

Sir H. SELWIN-IBBETSON trusted the House would feel that every objection which had been raised to the bill could be met in committee. He believed that if a conscience clause was to be adopted, it should be one that would protect all religious bodies.

Mr. JACOB BRIGHT said there were only two conditions necessary to secure the elementary instruction of a nation—that there should be good schools within reach of every child, and that there should be good security that the children should attend with tolerable regularity. The bill provided for

the first of these, but the second requisite was met by the bill in an imperfect manner. He found great objection outside to a permissive compulsory system of education. He thought it was a great pity that school boards were not to be everywhere, as without them there could not be compulsion. The great defect of the bill was that the Education Department was required not to get at the real facts regarding the education of the districts, but only the fact whether or no there was educational provision in the districts. Thus there might be several districts where children were only half educated, and yet no action would be taken. Now, it should be remembered that the great majority of the working men of the country, whether for good or whether for ill, held themselves altogether outside religious denominations. It appeared to him to be impolitic to take a division on this question; but if it was taken, he would do as he always intended to do, vote for the second reading.

Mr. J. HOWARD could not vote for the second reading of a bill which contained the principle of denominational education. Rather than perpetuate denominational education he was willing to postpone legislation for a year. They had denominationalism enough already without introducing that element into their schools, and he believed that it was calculated to contract human sympathies. He would not at once put a stop to State aid, but some definite time should be fixed when State aid should cease to be given to denominational schools. He would not, however, abolish religious teaching from the schools, and would only accept the secular theory as a *dernier resort*. By the Government grappling with the difficulty it would be overcome, and then there would be very few opponents to the introduction of the Bible and religious teaching into their day-schools. In the commercial school in the town of Bedford, the head master stated that he confined his attention to moral teaching from the book; and doctrine was studiously avoided. Those having conscientious scruples were excused from attending prayer and religious teaching at the request of their friends, and two scholars only—sons of a Jew—availed themselves of the exception. He added that he had never experienced the slightest difficulty in carrying out the arrangements for religious teaching. He (Mr. Howard) had been a scholar, and subsequently a trustee of that school, and had never heard a complaint about the teaching in it; and among the masters were Churchmen, Baptists, and Moravians. For many years he had been opposed to direct compulsion, but after visiting the schools in America and Prussia he became a convert to that principle, and considered that the compulsory system was in accordance with the law and constitution of this country.

Colonel BRESFORD said he would not have ventured to take part in the debate but for the deep interest which he felt in the cause of education. He objected to the bill because it enacted no teaching of the Bible; because there were no proper limits to the power of the school boards; because there was no provision made for the children who had to be washed and clothed and fed before they were taught; because the Chancellor of the Exchequer was to save 660,000*l.* by it; because the compulsory rate was to be mixed up with the poor rate; and lastly, because it gave no assurance of the continuance of the present payments to denominational schools. Having a strong impression that the present system was working well, and it being generally admitted that it did so—(Hear, hear)—he entertained strong objections to interfering with it, though he would yield to no man in his zeal for a true system of national education. Having provided himself with a copy of the bill, and compared it with the revised code, he had come to the conclusion that it would impose an onerous burden upon the constituencies, and give a death blow to the voluntary system. If the bill were not modified in committee, he should still have the satisfaction of feeling that he had raised his voice against an irreligious scheme.

At the close of the hon. member's speech some twenty gentlemen rose to address the House, but the Speaker named

Mr. H. RICHARD, who said he desired to address a few words to the House, as a large body of his Nonconformist fellow-countrymen looked to him to express their views on the subject of education. They believed that they would be in many ways affected, and they watched the result with great apprehension and alarm. A number of petitions had been presented from different parts of the country praying for alterations in the bill, but the Liberal members from Wales were constantly receiving letters in which the objections stated in those petitions were urged in still stronger and more energetic language. The Vice-President of the Council had stated that these objections were groundless, or greatly exaggerated; but, with all respect to his right hon. friend, the persons among whom a measure of this kind was to be brought into operation, and who were intimately acquainted with the local conditions of society, might be taken as fairly competent to judge what was likely to be the practical operation of the measure. The circumstances of Wales were peculiar. The overwhelming majority of the people, and of those more especially who were affected by this bill, belonged to the various Dissenting bodies, to whose activity it was owing, as the present excellent Bishop of Llandaff had acknowledged, that the Principality of Wales was not at this day a moral and spiritual wilderness. Until of late years, how-

ever, the Dissenting bodies had not bestowed the same active attention on the establishment of day-schools as Churchmen had done. Their Sunday-schools, meanwhile, were much more perfectly organised than Sunday-schools in England, inasmuch as they were attended, not merely by children, but by adults as well, and in them those attending were taught to read fluently and intelligently, as far, at least, as their Welsh Bible was concerned. Another obstacle in the way of establishing schools had been the difficulty of obtaining pieces of land for the purpose, many of the landlords refusing sites for the erection of British or unsectarian schools. During the last twenty-five years several hundreds of British schools have been established by Dissenters, but the large majority of the mis-called National schools were in the hands of the small minority of the people, and received three-fourths of the annual grant contributed by the Government. He gave Churchmen every credit for establishing day-schools; he only regretted that they had been turned so actively to purposes of proselytism. Before the imposition of the conscience clause, the Church Catechism was taught in nearly all the National schools in Wales, and even the conscience clause afforded no protection practically to the poor man. (Hear, hear.) His right hon. friend the Vice-President of the Council had fallen into the error, he believed, of underrating the gravity of the religious difficulty, and this was a kind of error into which statesmen were very apt to fall—they did not make sufficient allowance for the religious feelings or religious prejudices, as they would probably consider them, of large bodies of men throughout the country. What these errors arose from he was not prepared to say, except it might be that statesmen themselves were possibly persons of rather easy religious belief—(Oh, oh!)—persons who would be disposed to say with the poet,

For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight,

—not being able to understand, and being unwilling, that what seemed to them matters of trifling import could be regarded by others as questions of great and serious importance. It had frequently been the case that men such as these introduced measures overlooking the existence of strong religious convictions among bodies of their countrymen, and they found that they had been calculating without their host—(Hear, hear); and upon meeting with difficulties which were totally unexpected they expressed the most innocent surprise, just as his right hon. friend had done in the present case, about the opposition unexpectedly raised against the bill. His right hon. friend had said that the religious difficulty was one which did not originate with the parents, but was artificially stimulated and excited by the ministers of religion. (Cheers and counter cheers.) As far as Wales was concerned, that statement certainly was not correct. This point had been very clearly brought out in the controversy between the Bishop of St. David's and Mr. Bowstead. The bishop, believing that he spoke with the fullest knowledge of the subject, denied that the Welsh people objected to the instruction given in the National schools, whereupon Mr. Bowstead prepared a circular, which he addressed to more than 800 persons in South Wales, including not only the ministers of various religious denominations, but working men and persons in different ranks of society. As anybody acquainted with the state of feeling in Wales would have anticipated, there was a perfect consensus of opinion, many of the persons who sent replies expressing a vehemence of antipathy to the system which far exceeded anything that was alleged in the original statement. In his last report to the Committee of Council upon Education, Mr. Bowstead, who had inspected schools in twenty English counties, wrote very strongly as to the sacrifices often made by persons in humbler classes to obtain for their children education in accordance with their own religious principles. In Wales he said this feeling was so strong that it might almost be said to constitute the history of educational progress for the last few years. The exertions made and the sacrifices undergone by people from whom these were to be least expected were really remarkable. It was customary in South Wales for employers to impound a portion of the wages of the men for the purpose of paying the expenses of the education of their children. No objection was made to this system, which was found to work admirably, in most cases the masters having respect for the religious feelings of the men. There was another class of employers who used the poundage to establish Church schools, and bring up in Church principles the children of Dissenters. In consequence of this a feeling of great discontent prevailed among the people employed. In some instances workmen submitted to the deduction of the poundage, but sent their children to other schools, paying the usual school fees for them, thus paying twice over for the education of their children, once in the deduction from their wages, for which they got nothing which their conscience could accept, and a second time in fees to schools according with their own views. They had, indeed, built schools at their own expense. It had been intimated more than once in the course of the debate that really the questions at issue in regard to the religious instruction imparted by a certain class of schools were matters of very minor moment. He could not assent to that view. (Hear, hear.) He honoured his countrymen because they were not indifferent to the religious doctrines taught to their children. (Hear, hear.) To take the case of a Nonconformist child being obliged to learn the Church Catechism,—he would not say a

disrespectful word of that formulary, but what did it import? It was not a question of dogma but of morality. A Baptist child was required to say that he had been regenerated at baptism when he had never been baptized at all—(a laugh)—and children of other Nonconformists were asked, what did your godfathers and godmothers promise for you? when they never had either godfathers or godmothers. (A laugh.) It seemed a very odd thing to begin the religious education of a child by obliging, or even permitting him to repeat that which in his lips was nothing better than a deliberate falsehood. (Hear, hear.) There was another fact to which he must refer, although it was a matter of some delicacy. It was this—the teaching of the Church of England based on the Church Catechism and other formularies, had within the last twenty or thirty years undergone marvellous development, and in a direction especially obnoxious to Protestant Dissenters. An illustration of this would throw some light on the intense feeling that existed in Wales in regard to some portions of this bill. In North Wales there was a normal school established for the purpose of training young persons to become teachers of national schools in that country. At the head of that institution was a clergyman, the Rev. Sydney Boucher, who had prepared a series of papers on which the young people were to be examined, and from those divinity examination papers, as published in a pamphlet, he had culled a few extracts. Here were some of the things taught in that normal school to young people who were afterwards to become teachers of Nonconformist children in the National schools:—

Divinity examination papers show that the sacrament as administered by Dissenters must of necessity be mere blasphemous fables and dangerous deceptions. (Hear, hear.) No bishop, no Church—explain this, and show that what the world calls mere questions of Church government are really matters of vital importance. Dissenting ministers being merely laymen, there is no promise or warrant for supposing that what they do on earth Christ will do in heaven, or that He will be present to bless their ministrations. What inference do you draw? Men do not emigrate for what they can, but for what they can not, or what they think they can not, obtain at home. Show that there is perfect safety in the English Church, and that to leave her for any other Church or sect is a fatal error. Puritan doctrine is popular because it is so convenient and comfortable. Church principles are not conformed to this world, and therefore the world hates them. Give illustrations. (A laugh.) Show that the phrase "Protestant faith" indicates a ridiculous impossibility. ("Hear, hear," and a laugh.) Show from Scripture that a real presence is essential to both Sacraments.

(Hear.) He did not cite these extracts to censure, much less to controvert them. Every man had a perfect right to teach what he thought was truth; but they should not be surprised that the Nonconformists of Wales should object to have their children exposed to such teaching as this. (Hear, hear.) His right hon. friend would perhaps say they had the protection of the conscience clause; but there was no conscience clause for the ratepayers. And even if they could protect their own children from such teaching they would object to be taxed to teach these doctrines to anybody's children. A conscience clause was at the best a bungling and unsatisfactory expedient. It might have been well enough for a period of transition when the Churches were beginning gradually to unlearn the notion that they had some Divine prescriptive right to control the education of all the people of this country. It was well enough to let them down easily from that high pretension; but he should be sorry to see such an expedient incorporated as a permanent part of our educational legislation. For what was it? It was a kind of Educational Toleration Act. (Hear.) He trusted they had got beyond that. It was an act of the utmost presumption for any body of men to say to any other body of their fellow-subjects, "We will tolerate you in professing what you believe to be truth and worshipping God according to your conscience." But what did this conscience clause say to those who were called upon to pay for the establishment of certain schools? It said this:—"We will tolerate you in not learning certain things taught in these schools, although the schools are directly established by your own money." But he might be told that in Wales the Dissenters, being in such a majority, could have everything their own way in choosing the town councils and vestries which were to appoint the educational board. Yes, but there was no freedom of election in Wales; and though they might, no doubt, if they could induce the people everywhere to resist the influences, and to make the sacrifices necessary for the purpose, carry the election by force of their numerical majority, they had no right to call upon the people to submit to all that as a condition of obtaining an unfettered education for their children. His right hon. friend would probably say that they were not agreed among themselves as to what they wanted, and he had excited a laugh at his expense the other night by mentioning an expression he had used in conversation at an interview with a deputation from Wales. In the memorial presented on that occasion the words secular and unsectarian occurred, and he was asked as to the meaning of that collocation. He said they were used to meet the views of two different sections of the community some of whom were in favour of excluding the Bible altogether, and others who were anxious to retain the Bible but to exclude all Catechisms. He might take the opportunity of saying that the gentlemen who prepared the document disallowed his interpretation, and adhered to the other explanation—that the schools should be secular in education, but unsectarian in management. But he was bound to acknowledge that there was consider-

able difference of opinion among Welsh Christians on this point. Many felt great repugnance to the total exclusion of the Bible from the school, but there was also a large and increasing body who, feeling the inextricable difficulties which surrounded this question on all sides, from there being, especially in the thickly peopled parts of Wales, not only Churchmen and Dissenters, but Roman Catholics, who were forced to the conclusion that the only satisfactory solution was to make the rate-paid schools purely secular, leaving religious education to be communicated by the ministers of different creeds. Among those who advocated this view were persons who were earnestly concerned for religious instruction, and who had as profound a reverence as his right hon. friend or Dr. Newman for the old English Bible, or rather the old Welsh Bible, which a still finer version than the English (a laugh), just as the Welsh language was finer than the English. (A laugh.) This indicated no lack of respect for the Bible in any part of the Welsh people. On the contrary, he believed no people in the world entertained a more profound reverence for that book than they did. He would say more—there was no people in the world into whose daily life the substance of that book entered more than into the great bulk of the Welsh people. In proof of this he referred to the extensive circulation of the Bible in Wales, the Bible Society having, since 1806, sent into Wales more than 1,500,000 copies, and still annually sending 60,000 copies, while the annual subscriptions to the society from Wales amounted to £7000, a considerably larger proportion than was contributed by England. In the county of Carnarvon alone, in eighty-one Sunday-schools of the Calvinistic Methodists, no less than 100,000 chapters and more than a million verses had been committed to memory during one year. He should himself be satisfied with the amendments put upon the paper by the hon. and learned member for Stroud, and he believed that if the Government would accept those amendments they would go a great way to give satisfaction. Outside of the battle of the Churches, the importance of which he did not in any degree under-rate, was the great mass of working men throughout England, who were unhappily outside all Churches, and he admitted that something ought to be done to bring them inside one or the other of those Churches. And there might be a danger, that, by forcing religion upon them in connection with the education of their children, they might provoke a dangerous prejudice against and a recoil from religion altogether. In the course of that discussion much had been said about Germany, which had been held up to us as an object of admiration and of emulation. But there might be something in Germany that might prove a warning as well as an example.

In Prussia there is thorough religious instruction given in all schools, which is also strictly enforced. First the school is opened and concluded with prayer, consisting of the Lord's Prayer, the morning and evening benediction, and for the elder children, other prayers from the Liturgy in use in the churches. Then the Bible is taught as a whole, or in selected lessons. All the children are obliged to learn Luther's catechism, which, as some hon. gentlemen may know, contains a good deal of direct and positive dogmatic teaching. There is a book of hymns which treat of fundamental points of Christian faith and practice, and every child must learn thirty, and in some schools fifty, of these by heart before leaving the school. In addition to all of which the pastor of the parish is *ex-officio* local inspector; and inspection means something very different from what it does among ourselves, involving constant active superintendence and direct religious teaching on the part of the minister. Well, and what is the result of all this? Does all this elaborate instruction in day-schools make the Prussians a religious people? So far from it, there is probably no people in Europe so utterly indifferent to the doctrines and observances of Christianity as the Prussians. Some hon. gentlemen may remember a remarkable correspondence on this subject which appeared in the *Times* of last August, principally in letters from the Berlin correspondent of that paper, himself a German and a Protestant, and writing apparently in a tone of deep regret for what he was obliged to say of his countrymen. In one of his letters he says that three-fourths of all educated men in Germany are estranged from the dogmatic teaching of the Christian creed—estranged from it to the extent of disbelieving the sincerity of many of the clergy. Only a small fraction of the nation attend Divine service. Another correspondent of the same paper—the Rev. John Anketell, rector of the American Church at Dresden, confirms all that the other had said:—"The condition of religion here is, in the view of every Evangelical Christian, simply deplorable. Leading ministers of Saxony have admitted to me that if the hand of the State were withdrawn, the majority of the people would renounce even the outward form of Christianity as they have already renounced its truth." In a subsequent letter the same gentleman writes:—"Out of a Protestant population of over 150,000 only 6,000 or 7,000 attend public worship on the Lord's Day." In the life of the celebrated preacher and writer, Dr. Krummacher, lately published, "I find," he says, "that of the population of Berlin, approaching half a million, not more, after deducting the number of the military attending the garrison churches, than thirty thousand persons, and those mostly women, attended the public worship of God." In connection with all this there is one other extract from the Berlin correspondent of the *Times*, to which I ask the attention of the House. Here it is:—"To crown all, the Government forces the children of all parties alike to learn the catechism by heart; and in proportion to the spread of infidelity so are they intent upon cramming the youthful minds with texts and hymns. Yet the Scriptural antidote is so unavailing to stem the progress of the tide, that people do not think it worth their while to remonstrate against it." Sir, it would become me less than almost any man in this House, if I may presume to indulge in so personal allusion, to say anything

that would seem to imply indifference to, or a low estimate of, the necessity and value of religion as an element in the education of a human being. God forbid that I should say or imply anything of the kind. On the contrary, no language I can employ would adequately convey my sense of the supreme and inexpressible importance. But the question is not whether we shall give religious instruction to the children of our people, but which is the best way of giving it—whether by so engrafting it on the secular education, that the one cannot be obtained without the other, or by giving it apart? I am not now arguing for a secular education. But I say that there may be a danger that if we force religion upon the working classes of this country, by making their acceptance of it a condition of their receiving the simple elements of secular knowledge, we may produce a revolution of feeling similar to that which we witness in Germany. I acknowledge that to allow an unchristian population to grow up amongst us would be an infinite calamity. But there is something still worse, and that is an anti-Christian population, disgusted and driven off in violent repulsion from Christianity by our injudicious attempts to force it upon them. The best way, in my judgment, to teach religion, is not by any mechanical appliances supplied by the State, but by the power of Christian faith and love. (Cheers.) And I do not believe that, if religion were excluded from the school, the thousands of earnest clergymen who have devoted themselves with so much admirable energy and self-sacrifice to the education of the poor, would neglect the work of supplementing the school instruction by religious teaching and influence. I thank the House for the patience with which it has listened to me. I earnestly hope that the right hon. gentleman, the Prime Minister, will give us such assurances as to render it unnecessary for us to divide. No one on this side of the House has any wish or any interest in embarrassing the Government—(cheers)—but there some principles we are bound to guard. I yield to no gentleman in this House in my anxiety for the education of the people. It has been one of the hobbies of my life. According to the small measure of my ability and influence, I have been labouring for it for thirty-five years. But I cannot accept even education at the cost of imperilling the rights of conscience, and sacrificing that religious equality to which we stand pledged before the face of the country. (Cheers.)

Mr. BIRLEY objected to the compulsory divorce of religious and secular education, and from a long acquaintance with the working classes was able to assert that they had no love for purely secular education. He controverted, too, the statements of the recent report on the educational condition of Manchester. He believed if this religious difficulty were solved by getting rid of the religious element altogether it would not stop short at the primary schools, but would be extended to our grammar and public schools, and even to the Universities. ("Hear, hear," from below the gangway on the Ministerial side.) He thought as much. (Cheers.) But what would the late Dr. Arnold have said to such a principle as this? And what would those say who had imbibed some of the spirit and finer qualities of Dr. Arnold, when it was proposed to them to separate religion from education? Were street Arabs not to be taught the Ten Commandments because they happened to be in the Church Catechism, and were children not to be taught morality from Biblical examples? He trusted the folly of these demands would not be conceded.

Mr. FAWCETT argued at length, and towards the last to an impatient House, against the permissive clauses, and in favour of general compulsion. He was very severe on the Conservative leanings of the bill, and assured the Government that nothing short of the separation of religious and secular education would content the Liberal party. Provoking loud expressions of dissent, he recommended in preference to this to his mind unsatisfactory settlement a postponement to another year, when the whole question of education, secondary, technical, and University, as well as primary, could be dealt with. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had compared the promoters of the amendment to a herd of cattle, which, having a broad, sweet pasture whereon to feed, chose rather to fight over a bed of nettles in a corner of the field. He would, with the permission of the House, extend the illustration. When, night after night, they had heard members of the Government enthusiastically cheered from the Opposition benches, he could not help thinking of another herd of which they had all read, which, at a season of unwonted infatuation, rushed violently down a steep place into the sea, and perished in the waters. His last words were drowned in vociferous cries of "Divide."

Mr. COWPER-TEMPLE supported the bill, as offering the most efficacious means of meeting the varied wants of different districts, and condemned as a specimen of democratic despotism the compulsory imposition of secularism on the whole country. He was irreconcilably opposed to the omission of religion from any system of education, and saw no difficulty in framing a conscience clause which would give adequate protection.

Sir C. DILKE concurred in the protest against the permissive character of the bill, and pleaded for secular education. It had been stated by the hon. member for Shiffield that, in a certain large school containing 1,500 children, only four availed themselves of the Conscience Clause; but the reason of that was because the school was strictly an unsectarian school. The Vice-President of the Council had also said that certain eminent Nonconformists in Birmingham had no difficulty on the religious point, and did not shrink from sending their sons to a Church school—namely, King Edward's School. That school, however, though by foundation a Church school, was, practically, an undenominational school.

Mr. GLADSTONE rose at a quarter to twelve to reply. He commenced by a frank admission that the amendment had at least the merit of having elicited

a most interesting and exhaustive discussion. Expressing no fear of the result of the division, he indulged a hope that there could be found no necessity for such a symbol of discord; and then, in happy phrase, and with pointed allusion, he defended the Government against the charge of conciliating the Opposition, and excited loud cheers, mingled with laughter, by describing Mr. Fawcett as having "risen to the sublimest heights of dogma," when he "laid down the principle that whatever pleases you must displease us." He reviewed some portions of the discussion—reminding Sir C. Dilke, who had made a point of Mr. Forster's opposition to the Permissive Liquor Bill of last year, that in that bill "there was no conscience clause." Then he urged on Mr. Dixon not to press his amendment to a division, which he asserted would be an unprecedented course where no hostility was professed to the main principle and provisions of the bill. The Government, he said, had no disposition to insist on the permissive principle, against which the amendment was aimed, further than, after full discussion in committee, might appear reasonable. But at the same time he pointed out that in a measure depending to a great degree on local rates it was absolutely necessary to give a certain amount of discretion to the local authorities, and the electors of these authorities he thought might be trusted to look after them. The great objection he entertained to the amendment was that in discussing the religious difficulty, the attention of the House had been distracted from the importance of the other parts of the bill—points which could only be thoroughly examined and discussed in committee.

The Government has attempted to construct machinery which shall be equal to the gigantic task of bringing within the course of two or three years that system of popular education to such a state that it shall be able to grapple with the deficiency. We have heard much of an undue disposition to favour the National Church, so that, in Wales, its title might, by a fastidious critic, in some respects, be rather seriously contested; but it is worthy of observation, to the honour and credit of hon. gentlemen opposite, much more than to my right hon. friend and to the Government, that we have arrived at a point where I think it is rather hard to make a charge of intentional violation of the principle of religious equality. Admitting the necessity of legislation for education in a spirit of studied respect to religion, the bill does not contain from one end to the other a single word which takes special notice in any way of the Established Church of the country, and it grants to that Establishment Church no privilege whatever except the privileges which are conceded to every other religious body, great and small. There is another principle, undoubtedly one of the gravest character, which I can even now hardly hope—though I do hope, after all we have seen—to see accepted by the other side of the House. I mean the principle that compulsion must be applied in some effective manner to the promotion of education. (Hear, hear.) Now, I own that it is not without an effort that I make that admission. I deeply regret the necessity. I think it is a scandal and a shame to the country that, in the midst of our power, our advanced civilisation, and our enormous wealth, we should, at this time of day, be compelled to entertain this view of compulsion. Notwithstanding, we have arrived deliberately at the conclusion that it must be entertained; and I do not hesitate to say that, being entertained, it ought to be so entertained that, when applied, it shall be effectual. The mode in which it shall be made effectual for its object is one of those questions which it is not possible to consider except in committee on the bill. Then there is the other principle—Is education to be gratuitous? That, and its connected group of subjects, is of so much importance that if it were the only principle involved, the bill might be judged and described as of immense importance. That question has been dealt with so carefully that I own I am not aware how it is susceptible of any material improvement; but here again we have a subject which is essentially open to consideration, but which can only be satisfactorily considered by being watched in that close microscopic process—I might call it—which this House applies to great measures when it comes to scrutinise and ransack them in committee of the whole House. In speaking thus of the flexibility and elasticity of the provisions of the bill, I must entirely decline to adopt the description which was given by the hon. member for Brighton when he quoted from speeches of members of the Government, as I think, in a manner inaccurate, and not warranted by the contents of those speeches. I know not whether this was said with a view to hon. gentlemen opposite, but I may observe, if it is wrong for us to accept the votes of hon. gentlemen opposite, it cannot be very right to speak with a view to their cheers. (Hear, hear.) But he said, "We are told from the Treasury bench, Go into committee, and then you may alter it, transform it, revolutionise the bill; do with it what you please." But who ever heard such words from the mouth of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or from the mouth of my right hon. friend? I would venture to say say this, that, while the provisions of such a bill must necessarily be subject in detail to most careful examination, manipulation, and scrutiny, the principles of this bill are perfectly fixed. The bases are perfectly fixed, and, in my opinion, are entirely beyond question—I would almost say in any part of them. But this bill will do nothing to disparage religion; and, whatever be the particular provision adopted, it will be adopted in the *bona fide* hope and intention that it may be conducive to the most effectual propagation of religion. (Hear, hear.) We all, I think, entertain a strong conviction that it is desirable to keep the Government of the country free from the animosities which were engendered by religious disputes. And, on the other hand, I apprehend we are all firmly united in the determination to do everything which may be required even by the most scrupulous delicacy for the purpose of affording effectual protection to conscience. When we deviate from those principles—if we deviate—in the bill, let us be brought back to them, and let us take them for our guide and our light in the whole discussion we shall have upon its details. My hon. friend the member for Birmingham and various gentlemen who have spoken to-night in favour of the amendment have desired to

know whether we were of opinion that there were any modifications of the bill which after this debate appeared to our minds desirable and admissible. The amendment, so far as I can understand it, has not been made so much in support of any doctrine, with a view of establishing any extreme theories, as with the view of perfectly attaining complete and entire freedom of conscience under the operation of any bill which may be passed for promoting popular education. I can only say that there are suggestions which have been made during this debate which I own I think will deserve favourable consideration when we get into committee. Don't let it be thought that when I refer to the bill being allowed to go into committee I am making an unreasonable demand. I quite grant that, when two parties are pitted one against another in an obstinate encounter to contest point by point the provisions of a great measure, it is then idle for the minority to look to the committee with any great hope of reconstruction or of serious alteration of a bill; but when, on the other hand, there is on the part of the House a general desire for legislation, and especially when the subject-matter is difficult and complicated, and when all the parts of it must be considered in relation to all the rest, I say it is only reasonable to go to work in good faith and in reliance on the good faith of one another. The state of things referred to to-night in regard to Wales is a matter which may well be considered in committee, when we may well take care that, in the construction of the local boards, property shall not too much dominate over the principle of personal representation which has so direct and powerful a bearing on the subject. Again, Sir, my hon. friend the member for Sheffield I am glad to find is in entire concurrence upon this very point with the hon. member for Brighton; and not only so, but throughout the speeches of other hon. gentlemen on the opposite side of the House, I see there is an anxious desire for the passing of the bill. The hon. gentleman laid down this doctrine, that in order to adjust a right to a particular part of the bill, I ought to give up the machinery of a clause—historically called a conscience clause—and to consent to a complete separation in time, and time alone, of the religious from the secular. (Hear, hear.) Now, in drawing up the conscience clause, my right hon. friend and the Government proceeded with the greatest possible care, and I cannot but admit that it appears to me that very great advantage will attend the adoption in the bill of such a change as this, and in substituting a clear, defined line which will be intelligible to everybody, practicable, and available without putting them under the necessity of taking any act which would be difficult or invidious. On looking back over a period of thirty years I think it has not been perfectly effectual, however well intended for the purpose. Then with regard to minorities I will not anticipate the decision of the House as to the precise degree of the permissive discretion to be accorded to local bodies in the matter of religious instruction. I think it cannot be altogether abrogated, but this I may venture to say, that I can see no unreasonableness whatever in proposing in the bill, in the interest of the minority, that in case religious instruction shall be given by schoolmasters, we shall do justice to the minorities by making it compulsory and obligatory upon the local bodies to grant the use of the school-buildings to the representatives of other communions, so that they may not be deprived of securing that religious instruction which others might wish to have. I hope it may be understood that the arrangement is not reduced to the precise form which will be necessary in committee, but it is given in good faith. As to the spirit in which the Government desire to approach the bill, I do not apprehend any serious attempt to transform the measure. If such attempt were made, I could not be a party to it, and I admit that from the nature of the case, much must be left to discretion upon a careful scrutiny in the course of our discussion, which I hope my hon. friend will allow us to proceed with. I feel it my duty to say that I am expressing the sentiments of my right hon. friend the Vice-President of the Council as fully as any other member of the Government. I own that I was unable to understand the adverse criticism upon one part of his very able speech, for it did not seem to me to be open to that criticism. But, be that as it may, I can venture to say that the sentiments I have expressed are his sentiments. We look for a general adoption of the principles of the bill, founding our anticipations upon the favourable indications already given by the House. Of course it will be our duty, when there are so many provisions of such a complicated and difficult character, to do our best to make such an adjustment of them in detail as may render effectual one of the greatest benefits and blessings that perhaps a Legislature has ever had the opportunity of bestowing upon a country. (Cheers.)

Mr. G. HARDY wished it to be clearly understood that though he and hon. members on his side of the House would support the bill at its present stage, they held themselves perfectly free at subsequent stages to discuss the question of the conscience clause, and to take such action upon it as they might think necessary. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. DIXON said that, after the speech of the right hon. gentleman at the head of the Government, and the indication that the views expressed by his hon. friend the member for Sheffield would be received with favour by the Government when the bill got into committee, he should feel it his duty to withdraw the amendment he had proposed. (Cheers.)

The SPEAKER then asked if it was the pleasure of the House that the amendment be withdrawn. (Cheers, and cries of "No, no.")

Sir ROUNDELL PALMER hoped hon. members opposite would not think it necessary to take so unusual a course as to refuse permission for the withdrawal of the amendment. (Hear, hear.) The hon. member for Birmingham had taken his course in order to promote concord and unanimity, and it was to be hoped the House would accede to his wish. (Cries of "No, no.")

The SPEAKER was again putting the question that the amendment be withdrawn, when

Mr. T. HUGHES moved the adjournment of the House.

The SPEAKER said the hon. member could not so move while he was putting the question. (Cheers.)

The question was then put, and the amendment negatived without a division.

The bill was then read a second time.

The Judges' Jurisdiction Bill passed through committee.

REAL ESTATE SUCCESSION.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the law of succession to real estate. It was identical with the measures which had been introduced with so much perseverance by the hon. member for West Surrey, and would assimilate the laws relating to real property to those which regulated the succession to personal property. Leave having been given, the bill was brought in and read a first time.

On the motion of Sir W. TITE, leave was given to bring in a bill to consolidate and amend the Building Acts relating to the metropolis, the formation of streets, and of sewers and drains in the metropolis, and for other purposes.

The House adjourned at one o'clock.

(Continued on page 278.)

Postscript.

Wednesday, March 23rd, 1870.

YESTERDAY'S PARLIAMENT.

The House of Lords at its sitting last evening passed the Coinage Bill through committee, and advanced two other measures a stage.

At the commencement of the proceedings in the House of Commons, Sir GEORGE JENKINSON asked the Home Secretary to state the grounds upon which he had, within the last week, reprieved three convicts who had been sentenced to death for murder; but Mr. BRUCE expostulated with him upon the new practice which he was endeavouring to introduce, in making such inquiries without, by moving some resolution, affording to the Minister to whom they were addressed, the opportunity of offering a complete explanation; and, encouraged by expressions of opinion from the Ministerial benches, declined to answer the questions now addressed to him. In reply to another of Sir George's questions, Mr. GLADSTONE declared that a telegram from Madrid, stating that Mr. Bright had promised to give up Gibraltar to Spain, was an entire fabrication.

REPRESSION OF CRIME IN IRELAND.

The adjourned debate upon the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill was resumed by Mr. DOWNING, who maintained that the measure was altogether unnecessary, as there was really not nearly so much crime in Ireland as in England; and warned the Government that its introduction would in future be employed by the Conservatives who now supported it, to diminish the influence of Liberal candidates in Ireland. Lord JOHN MANNERS, after controverting Mr. Downing's ideas as to the condition of Ireland, and promising his hearty support to the bill, severely criticised the past conduct of the Government.

Mr. C. FORTESCUE defended the provisions of the bill against the objections which had been urged to them, and vindicated the course pursued by the Government in delaying the introduction of this measure until some progress had been made in the Land Bill. Sir THOMAS BATESON applied himself principally to a discussion of the speeches and policy of the members of the Government. The conciliatory policy of the Ministry had let loose the dogs of war upon that devoted country. Mr. M'MAHON submitted the provisions of the bill to a process of legal dissection, and characterised it as a piece of exceptional legislation which no Government would venture to apply to either England or Scotland. On the other hand, the measure obtained the support of Mr. KAVANAGH, who complained that it had come only too late. Neither Mr. SHERLOCK nor Mr. MURPHY would commit themselves to an unqualified approval of all the provisions of the bill, but both of them were prepared to vote for the second reading on the ground that it was absolutely necessary that special powers should be given to the Government to enable them to cope with the crime and disorder which were now so rife in Ireland. Lord CLAUD HAMILTON denied that the agrarian outrages commenced while the Duke of Abercorn was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and asserted that when the present Government came into office they found that country comparatively prosperous, tranquil, and happy. Then he attacked the utterances and policy of the members of the present Administration, and declared that under their auspices "a upas tree, seven times more deadly than the Lancashire upas tree, has sprang up; it raises its head to Heaven and its shadow is cast over the land." Mr. AGAR-ELLIS's opinions of the bill were summarised by himself in the maxim, "Better late than never." Mr. WHALLEY was almost afraid to prophesy that this measure would not attain the objects to which it was directed. He recommended as the cure for the evils of Ireland

the organisation of a body of Protestant missionaries, to replace the clergymen of the Disestablished Church, who were bound to preach four times a year against Popery and all foreign doctrine. Mr. BRYAN opposed the bill; and Mr. CONOLLY, while supporting it, complained that the Irish Government did not repose proper confidence in the local magistracy. Mr. JAMES WHITE so strongly objected to the provisions of the bill relating to the press that he could not vote for the second reading, and so warmly approved of the motives of the Government in introducing the measure, that he could not vote against it; and a similar course of abstention commended itself to the approval and adoption of his namesake, Captain WHITE. The task which Mr. GLADSTONE undertook to perform in closing the debate was the justification of the stringency of the bill, the vindication of himself and his colleagues from the charges of "rhetorical exaggeration" which had been frequently alleged against them in the course of the debate, and the exposition of the reasons which had induced the Government to delay the introduction of the measure until the Land Bill had made some progress. In dealing with the second topic, he complained that words had, without the suggestion of any authority, been attributed to himself which he had never used; and while clearing Mr. Bruce from the charge that he had described the laws of Ireland as "infernal," by showing that he applied that adjective only to the penal laws, excited a hearty cheer by showing that the Bishop of Peterborough had described the same statute in identical language. When the question was put, so few voices were raised in favour of the amendment, and those so mildly, that for a moment it seemed that there was to be no division. At last, however, Mr. MOORS loudly challenged the decision of the Speaker, and refused to yield to the cries of "Agreed, agreed," which came from many parts of the House. When the division took place the second reading was carried by a majority of 412—425 to 13. The committee was fixed for Thursday, and almost immediately afterwards the House adjourned, at five minutes to one o'clock.

Her Majesty held the second drawing-room of the season yesterday, at Buckingham Palace, accompanied by several members of the Royal family. The diplomatic circle was largely attended, and about 100 presentations to the Queen were made.

In the French Chamber yesterday, M. Jules Simon's motion, proposing the abolition of capital punishment, was referred to a committee.

The trial of Prince Pierre Bonaparte was resumed yesterday before the High Court of Justice at Tours. One of the witnesses, M. Milliere, being violently interrupted by the accused, claimed the protection of the court. Several witnesses, M. Paul de Cassagnac among the number, deposed that they had seen traces of a blow on the cheek of the Prince after the occurrence at Autenil. All the evidence on this point was, however, seriously shaken. For the defence, it is alleged that a conspiracy existed to cause the death of the Prince, either in a duel or by assassination.

According to the *Patrie*, the Pope has refused to admit a representative of France to the Ecumenical Council. Another French journal, the *Pays*, makes the same announcement. It is stated, meanwhile, that the French Government has itself determined to take no action in the matter.

The missing steamer City of Boston, having now been fifty-three days out from Halifax, the underwriters refused yesterday to take any fresh insurances upon her.—The overdue Samaria has arrived at Queenstown with two shafts broken.

THE TEST BALLOT AT BRISTOL.—The ballot between the three Liberal candidates, Messrs. Hodgson, Robinson, and Olger, commenced yesterday, and will be kept open until four o'clock on Wednesday (this day). About 6,800 voters have as yet polled out of a Liberal constituency of 12,000. The proceedings were very quiet.

MARK-LANE.—THIS DAY.

The grain trade to-day, influenced by the cooler weather, and the shortness of the supplies, has been rather firmer; but at the same time there has been a want of animation in the demand. The receipts of English wheat have been very small. There has been a moderate attendance of millers, but business has progressed slowly, at Monday's decline. There has been a good show of foreign wheat on the stands. The inquiry has been limited. Moderate supplies of barley have been on offer. The trade has been firm, at full quotations. Malt has been quiet, at late rates. The market has been moderately supplied with oats. With a healthy inquiry, extreme rates have been obtained. Beans and peas have been quite as dear. Flour has been steady, at late rates.

ARRIVALS THIS WEEK.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Malt.	Oats.	Flour.
English & Scotch	40	420	920	—	—
Irish	—	—	—	—	—
Foreign	—	170	—	3,400	800 bbls.

COMPARATIVE QUANTITIES AND PRICES OF GRAIN.

For the week ending March 19. For the corresponding week last year.

	Qrs.	Av. s. d.		Qrs.	Av. s. d.
Wheat	66,971	41 9	Wheat	52,220	47 9
Barley	51,817	34 4	Barley	25,189	45 0
Oats	5,382	21 1	Oats	3,707	27 3

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PLAN of OPERATION.

The establishment of a Charity Office, when practicable, in every Poor Law district in the metropolis; such office to be the recognised centre of charitable organisation in each district. Attached to each Charity Office is a properly accredited agent whose duty it shall be to register all cases relieved by the several charitable agencies in the district, and inquire into and investigate all cases referred to the office.

Such special cases as cannot be met by existing agencies will, in the last resort, be assisted under the instructions of the Committee.

Donations and subscriptions towards the heavy expenses of the necessary organisation in the metropolis are earnestly requested, and may be paid to the Society's Bankers, Messrs. Osatts and Co., Strand; or to the Honorary Secretaries, at the Central Office.

TO the ELECTORS of the CITY of BRISTOL.

FELLOW CITIZENS,—

The death of our old friend, the Honourable F. H. F. Berkeley, for more than thirty years the able and consistent member in Parliament for this city, having caused a vacancy in the representation, I beg to place myself at the service of the Electors as a candidate for the seat at their disposal.

Having been before the public for many years, my opinions upon most subjects of prominent political interest are well known.

I have always strongly identified myself with the principles of the Liberal party, principles that find such admirable exponents in Her Majesty's present Government, led by the Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone.

Economy, without the sacrifice of efficiency, is one of the most emphatic watchwords of the Ministers of the Crown. All who are anxious to diminish the heavy burdens of the Taxpayer will therefore feel that they are entitled to their warm support.

I rejoice that important measures have been, or are about to be, introduced into Parliament, upon the subjects of Education, the Licensing System, Trades' Unions, and the Ballot.

The time has arrived when ignorance should be grappled with in a more effective way than it ever has yet been, and I hope that the Education Bill now under the consideration of Parliament will be so shaped that no privilege shall be conferred or disability imposed on any one on account of religious opinion.

The laws relating to the Licensing of Public-houses require much amendment, and the attempt to limit the inducements now held out to indulge in intoxicating drink demands the prompt and earnest attention of the Legislature.

Working men have, in my opinion, the most perfect right to combine for the promotion of their interests, and I hold that the funds of Trades' Unions should be protected by law.

The Ballot, which was so long and ably pressed upon the Legislature by our late member, will find in me a no less hearty supporter. I am firmly convinced that this protection for the voter is necessary.

Having always advocated complete Religious Equality, I shall support the admission of Nonconformists to the privileges and honours of the national Universities, and all other measures tending to produce that equality.

The Land Laws of England, as well as those of Ireland, require amendment. Nothing would tend more to create productive employment for tens of thousands in this kingdom than the abrogation of those laws which permit vast estates to be tied up in entail; the effect of this law or laws being that the proprietor of an entailed estate has little inducement to improve it, without further benefiting the heir at the expense of his younger children.

Although the Local affairs, even of a large city, form no prominent portion of the business of Parliament, yet it must be advantageous to Bristol to have a representative acquainted and identified with its Trading, Industrial, and Municipal affairs.

My participation in the Local business of Bristol extends over a period of twenty-two years. In 1847 or 1848, I moved an important resolution at a meeting at the Guildhall to transfer the Docks from the Dock Company to the citizens of Bristol—a measure which has been of incalculable benefit to the commerce of the city, reduced rates having converted a

deficient revenue into a surplus revenue of many thousand pounds per annum.

When a Guardian of the Poor, I advocated (and for some time almost alone) the adoption of the "Rules and Orders of the Poor Law Board." They were adopted. I was elected Chairman of the Board of Guardians and Governor of the Corporation of the Poor. The records of St. Peter's Hospital will show the reduction that followed in the amount of the Poor Rate; and those who took part in the business at that time, will bear witness to the improved treatment of the really deserving poor.

Since then I have filled respectively the offices of Town Councillor, Magistrate, and Mayor; it is not for me to say with what amount of success.

I must, in conclusion, allude to the active part I have taken, and intend to take, in endeavouring to procure for Bristol her share of the increasing Ocean Steam Ship trade of the kingdom—a trade she is now almost deprived of, and is consequently compelled to witness—what? Not merely no advance in her Export trade, but its positive and continuous decline.

ELECTORS! RATEPAYERS! WORKERS! THINKERS! I make no claim to your suffrages on account of past services—I have had my reward in my work—but I ask you, Is past conduct any guarantee for the future? If it be send me to a sphere where I can more effectually serve you, and rely on it that if elected as your Representative in Parliament no effort of mine shall be wanting to promote the welfare of the inhabitants of this ancient city, or of her interests, whether to be arrived at by Imperial or Local measures.

I am, Gentlemen, yours very respectfully,

E. S. ROBINSON.

Bristol, March 18th, 1870.

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The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 23, 1870.

SUMMARY.

THE Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill, the provisions of which were fully, if not very pleasantly, described by the Chief Secretary for Ireland on Thursday, was read a second time last night by a majority of 425 to 13. The debate, both of Monday and last night, was altogether dull, and it is a great pity the discussion did not close on the former evening. As with the Land Bill, Conservatives and Irish Liberals criticised while promising to support the measure for repressing crime in Ireland. Mr. Maguire will move the omission of the penal clauses against the so-called "National Press," when the Bill goes into Committee to-morrow night, but he is likely to meet with scant support. Though many days will not elapse before the measure becomes law, its introduction has considerably deranged the Government programme. There is now little chance that the Irish Land Bill, and the half-hundred of amendments of which notice has been given, will be disposed of before the Easter recess, or that the promised measures relative to the laws of licensing and University Tests will be speedily introduced.

The Committee on Parliamentary and Municipal Elections have completed their report. They recommend the adoption of vote by ballot, but do not report in favour of the abolition of public nominations—the urgent need of which was, we should have thought, demonstrated at the last election. It is apparent that the Conservatives are not so ready to agree to secret voting as was at one time thought. All the members of that party on the committee voted against the Marquis of Hartington's Ballot resolution, and the spirit of the Conservatives generally was exhibited on Wednesday, when successive dilatory motions prevented the Commons from voting on the second reading of Mr. Leatham's Ballot Bill. This debate was noticeable for Lord Hartington's statement that the Government had not deliberated on the subject, and that himself and Mr. Bright had been in consultation with the law officers relative to a Bill, and for the reappearance as a speaker of Mr. Bernal Osborne, who described himself and Mr. Heron as "two popular members who were obliged to fly for their lives"; and asserted, as a general characteristic of Irish elections, that the elector was required to go to the poll, and take the chance of returning on a shutter.

The third night of the debate on the Ele-

mentary Education Bill terminated with the unopposed second reading of the measure. The interest and ability of the speeches delivered, fully justified the prolongation of the discussion. The Government concessions somewhat vaguely described in the Premier's closing address are stated more fully elsewhere. When Mr. Gladstone closed, Mr. Hardy on behalf of himself and friends, said that he held himself perfectly free at subsequent stages to discuss the question of the Conscience Clause, and to take such action upon it as he might think necessary. As the *Standard* declares uncompromising opposition to the separation of secular and religious instruction, the struggle over the Education Bill, though in a different form, will no doubt be renewed after Easter.

The law reforms proposed by the Government are making some progress. Those relative to the new High Court of Justice and the recasting of the Court of Appeal, though proposing useful changes, are timid and hesitating. The first of these Bills is defective because it fails to give adequate relief to suitors, and leaves to the judges that task of making rules of procedure which should be delegated to an independent and unprejudiced commission; the second spoils an otherwise admirable scheme by retaining the anomalous appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords. The Lord Chancellor has ventured to submit to their Lordships the general measure relative to the transfer of land, while the Bill for amending the law of succession to real estate (Mr. Locke King's)—that is, for assimilating it with that which affects personal property—has been reserved for the Commons, and introduced by the Attorney-General.

The long-expected struggle between the Unionists and Democrats of Spain seems to have begun in the Cortes on some amendments to the Finance Minister's Loan Bill. They were rejected by a majority of only six, after a very exciting debate, in which General Prim said, amid frantic applause, "Radicals who respect me, follow me to the vote! Since the Union Liberals give us battle, let us defend ourselves!" From this demonstration the Republicans held aloof, while Admiral Topete was so hurt by it that he withdrew from the Government bench, and has resigned his position as Minister of Marine. Both parties are, however, aware of the serious consequences of a rupture, which would not only bring about the retirement of the Regent, but plunge Spain once again into civil war. But neither is disposed to succumb to the other. Great as is the general popularity of General Prim, his Unionist antagonists are thought to possess greater power over the army.

THE IRISH PEACE PRESERVATION BILL.

WE can fully appreciate the extreme reluctance with which Mr. Gladstone has at length consented to strengthen the arm of the Executive in Ireland. Earnestly intent upon soothing and pacifying the Sister Kingdom by a policy of justice, the First Lord of the Treasury has naturally listened with some incredulity to the representations made to him, even by his own officials, of the inadequacy of the existing laws to meet the special dangers, and to suppress the extraordinary crimes, characterising the present condition of Ireland. His forbearance has certainly been remarkable—his political opponents think it has been carried to the very verge of weakness. But, whatever Mr. Gladstone may want, he is certainly not devoid of firmness. He may be misled by sentiment, but he never lacks courage to face the most unwelcome obligation. He has proved this not by any means for the first time by submitting to Parliament the Peace Preservation Bill. The measure, stringent as it is, shows that the Administration over which he presides is not content to follow common precedents in its endeavour to repress political and social crimes. Mr. Gladstone has not asked for a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. We believe he is quite justified in his refusal to make that demand upon the Legislature. As Dr. Ball urged on Monday night, in a speech full of judicial and statesmanlike wisdom, when you have to deal with rebellion, insurrection, or a great political organisation, power to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act may be indispensable. But it is not a provision suitable for the repression of crime. It is a measure of caution and foresight; but parties arrested under it cannot be viewed or treated as criminals. It would, therefore, be unsuited to the present crisis of affairs, whilst it would be needlessly severe.

The Peace Preservation Bill revives some powers with which, under similar circumstances, the Lord Lieutenant has been occasionally vested by former Acts—such, for example, as

disarming the population of a proclaimed district, and entailing upon it the expense of any extraordinary measures taken by the Government for the protection of life and property. But several of the proposals in the Bill now before us, for preventing, detecting, convicting or punishing crime, are quite new. The power it gives to search in proclaimed districts for documents in the handwriting of persons suspected of having written threatening letters; to arrest persons found prowling about at night under suspicious circumstances, and to detain at any time of the day or night strangers whose business is not obvious, and who can give no satisfactory account of themselves; the authority extended to magistrates to decide summarily in certain offences against the Act, and to inflict immediate punishment; the provisions made for the changing of the venue; the authority given to the Executive to seize newspapers guilty of publishing seditious articles, to apprehend absconding witnesses, to throw upon districts where crime has been committed the obligation of providing compensation for the families of persons deprived of life by the hand of an assassin; and, lastly, the arrangements proposed for restricting the sale of ammunition, are all of them, to some extent, novel. They are specially adapted to meet special evils beyond the reach of existing laws. They promise, at least, to inflict inconvenience mainly upon those persons against whom the provisions of the Bill are aimed, and only in districts, and within local limits, specially proclaimed.

These provisions indicate that agrarian outrages in Ireland are not general. They are not spread over the entire surface of the country. Their *habitat*, if one may so say, is confined within traditional and well-known boundaries. The disposition to commit them, and probably the secret organisation for gratifying that disposition, are connected with particular localities, and flourish amongst a particular caste of the population. For the most part, Ireland is as free from ordinary crime as any other portion of Her Majesty's dominions. Tipperary, Westmeath, that part of the King's County which borders on Westmeath, and Meath, along the borders of the Shannon, are and usually have been the places—some of them from the time of Spenser down to the present moment—in which outrages connected with personal violence make their ghastly appearance. But, as might have been expected, impunity has stimulated the contagious power of the disease, for where ruffianism goes unpunished, the spirit of ruffianism is very apt to spread. This localisation of special crime, partly social and partly political, each kind acting and reacting upon the other, should be constantly borne in mind when we are passing under review the condition of the Irish people. We are otherwise prone to misjudge the effect of those measures which are remedial in their character. A policy of conciliation cannot be said to have failed, merely because peculiar circumstances have brought out into greater activity than before local tendencies to crime. Nor ought we to permit those measures of repression which are to be locally applied, to give their gloomy character to the general course of the Irish administration.

It is possible, perhaps probable, that some of the provisions of the Bill will be subject to considerable modification in Committee. Evident as it is, at a glance, that great pains have been taken by the Executive to measure out with the utmost care the coercive energy of the Bill, and to limit its efficacy to the demands of the facts with which it has to deal, it is not to be anticipated that, in every instance, its framers have kept its provisions within strictly reasonable bounds. We look upon the clause which deals with the seditious press with grave apprehension. It is certainly capable of being greatly abused. It is, as Mr. Henley says, "a new and vast power," to lay violent hands on the whole of a man's property, and confiscate it to the Crown. Nor can it be said that such power is duly guarded by giving to the owner of the property leave to prosecute the Crown, and, in case of injustice having been done, to obtain damages. To us it seems that before the suppression, which in most cases would amount to extinction of a newspaper guilty of publishing a seditious article, of whose guilt, of course, the executive will be the sole judge, heavy bail might be demanded of its proprietor and his friends, whereby he would be bound to avoid a repetition of his offence. Some check on the exercise of the despotic power given to the Irish Executive for bringing the seditious press to terms, further than that which has been provided by the Bill, must be, and we should imagine will be, devised in Committee, to temper the severity of the clause itself. It appears to us to have gone beyond the need of the occasion, and, although we have great confidence in the Administration to which the exercise of the power it gives will be entrusted, we cannot but think

that it will constitute a bad model for future exigencies of the like kind, and a preventive against treason, the very stringency of which will cause it to be in some way evaded and rendered ineffectual.

A new Coercion Bill for Ireland is terribly depressing to our hope of a smiling future. Still, we must not permit ourselves to despond, and, above all, we must not withhold our hand from doing that which is commended to us by its manifest righteousness. "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." Such, for wise but perhaps inscrutable reasons, is one of the principles of Providential government. Wrong-doing creates its own penalties, nor is it ever the case among men that they cease from suffering the moment they have ceased from sin. The injustices of three centuries of English misrule in Ireland are exacting retribution from this generation of Englishmen. The lesson taught us is to the effect that we should "not be weary in well-doing." The darkness will pass away after awhile. The alienation of our brethren will cease. With firmness, on the one hand, in the maintenance of law and order, and conciliation, on the other, in the general policy we pursue, we shall come at length to a realisation of our desires, and "in due season shall reap if we faint not."

THE EMPEROR "BURNING HIS BOATS."

THROUGHOUT his remarkable career, the Emperor Napoleon has alike baffled friends and foes. He has scaled the heights of folly, and has at times evinced a sagacity more profound than any sovereign of the age. Of so versatile a potentate it is futile to predict anything. But a year ago no prophecy would seem to have been more wild than that the Personal Ruler of France for eighteen years—the man who in his Cabinet had his fingers upon all the secret administrative springs of the empire, and to whom Army, Navy, Senate and Legislative Body, were but so many blind instruments to carry out his will—would publicly destroy his own handiwork, and don, with something like easy grace, the robe of the Constitutional Sovereign. If the three short months of the present year, during which M. Ollivier has been in office, have not been prolific of great measures, they have enabled his Ministry to lay the foundation for great reforms, and have, above all, given abundant evidence of the Emperor's good faith. One landmark of Personal Rule after another—a restricted press, sinecures, packed courts of law, corrupt prefects, and official candidates—has disappeared. But Napoleon III., up to yesterday, still retained in his hands, by means of his Senate, the power of checking the Democratic tide, and even of turning it back altogether. He could still recall his concessions, and return to Personal Government. On the 22nd of March, 1870, the Emperor fairly crossed the Rubicon, destroyed his bridge, burnt his boats, and irrevocably committed the fortunes of his dynasty to a constitutional régime.

For a fortnight past there has been an ominous lull in the French political world. The Legislative Body has been in recess. Many Bills have been introduced, but Senatorial prerogative blocked the way; and M. Ollivier wisely adjourned the Chamber till his further course was made clear. The pacific revolution came to a dead-lock by the obstructive threats of the Senate, which proposed to make a stand against the demand of the Government to alter the law for the election of mayors. Without fighting the battle in detail, the Liberal Cabinet resolved to challenge the constitutional rights of the Senate, and reduce its constituent powers to a minimum. "That grand body," as the Emperor with pardonable partiality, or covert irony, describes it, took up the gage. M. Rouher, its President, and the great mass of Senators, did their best—or worst. They incessantly attacked the Government in their organs, tried to sow distrust between the leading Ministers, sounded the Left as to the possibility of a temporary alliance, and endeavoured to undermine the confidence of the Emperor in responsible advisers who were said to be paving the way for the House of Orleans, and to be thwarting the interests of the Prince Imperial. This preternatural activity and intrigue is more easy to understand than to justify. But the proposals of M. Ollivier will have the effect of placing the liberties of the country in the hands of the Representative Chamber, and reducing the Senate to a nullity. A hereditary Chamber might, for a time at least, contest such a sweeping reform. But the French Senate is simply a body of Imperial pensioners, very serviceable in the days of Personal Government, but having no hold whatever on public opinion. If a real

struggle had set in, the Legislative Body, by stopping the handsome salaries of these nominees of the Court, would have made their position both embarrassing and ridiculous.

Both sides appealed to Cæsar, and Cæsar has wisely interposed to avert an unseemly and dangerous conflict. The Imperial letter to M. Ollivier deals frankly and loyally with the difficulty. The Keeper of the Seals and his colleagues are requested to draw up a *Senatus-Consultum*, "which shall firmly fix the fundamental dispositions deriving from the plébiscite of 1852, and which shall divide the legislative power between the two Chambers and restore to the nation that portion of constituent power it had delegated to me." The rights surrendered to the exigencies of the crisis are rather those of the Sovereign than of his Senate. Having gracefully made a vital concession which will "impress a definite character upon the latest reforms, and place the constitution above all controversy"—that is, interpose an insuperable obstacle to a return to Personal Rule—the Emperor not unreasonably calls on the Senate "to lend to the new régime their most efficacious concurrence." It is a bitter draught to swallow. But the Senate is an Imperial creation, and can only submit. M. Rouher is but the head of a band of some 150 reactionary stipendiaries, to whom the will of their master is law. A portion of their powers, and the whole of their salaries, remain to them; and will probably continue for a while if they remain docile and yielding. This is not a dignified position to occupy, but obsolete prerogatives cannot be allowed to prevent the development of constitutional government, and the Senate is after all asked to make sacrifices less sweeping and humiliating than their Sovereign.

This decision of the Emperor to surrender one of the most fundamental bases of the Constitution of 1852 will not only silence senatorial antagonism, but also increase the moral influence of the Government in the Representative Chamber. The strength of the ultra-Imperialists in that assembly lay solely in Court sympathy. That resource has now signally failed them. The Emperor sides ostentatiously with his responsible Ministers. He faithfully and honourably accepts "all reforms required by the Constitutional Government of the Empire," and accords to his advisers the substance as well as the semblance of political power. He has thus furnished another and the most signal proof that liberty is compatible with the Empire. It is probable that the many reforms suggested by the Ollivier Cabinet will now make good progress in both Chambers. The pensioners of the one, and the official candidates of the other, have but one course to pursue. Under any circumstances their political importance cannot be greatly prolonged. But they may at least follow the example of their Sovereign; repay his favours by giving strength to his Throne, and by making the transition from an Absolutist to a Constitutional Empire easy and pleasant; and act with an intelligence and discretion which will prevent the question of dynastic changes being raised whenever a fresh appeal is made to the country.

THE STRUGGLE WITH INFIDELITY.

A SUNDAY EVENING IN SHOREDITCH TOWN HALL.

ALTHOUGH we cannot altogether share the opinion recently expressed by the Bishop of London to the effect that the aggressive position of English infidelity is wholly of modern origin, there can be no doubt that the leading exponents of atheistical doctrines have lately derived much encouragement from the large degree of favour with which the works of Rationalistic writers have been received both in this country and on the continent. Whether the results of their propagandist efforts have been in any degree commensurate with the amount of energy and zeal displayed by them, is a matter difficult precisely to determine. Yet we cannot help recalling the fact that long before the name of Charles Bradlaugh became known in connection with what is termed the "Secular movement," that organisation was far more powerful and influential than at present, having its "halls of science" in almost every part of the metropolis, and its professors in nearly every leading city and town. Its publishers also were more active, their serials and pamphlets pouring forth in a continuous stream, which frequently excited the alarm of timid Christians. But, at the present time, we find the Secularists divided among themselves, angrily disputing with each other as to the real signification of the term "Secularists," and hesitating whether to range themselves under the leadership of the pseudo-philosophic Holyoake or the declamatory Bradlaugh. Indeed, the moot question with the modern free thinker seems to be "What is a

Secularist?" rather than "What is a Christian?" Mr. Holyoake maintains that a Secularist is not necessarily an Atheist. "Why"—asked he the other evening of Mr. Bradlaugh, "should a Secularist be disqualified from looking beyond this life, or from having any speculation about it? Why should he not conjecture whether God is at the bottom of this mystery of existence, whether there is not a future world? A man must ask himself something about the unknown world, or life into which he may be going." This, Mr. Bradlaugh, of course, hotly denies. But while the dissension in the Infidel camp is thus growing, the rival champions of Atheism find themselves suddenly confronted in an unexpected quarter by an old and powerful adversary, whose coolness, scholastic training, shrewdness, and indomitable perseverance bid fair to render him the most formidable antagonist yet encountered by them or their disciples. Mr. B. Harris Cowper has entered on his warfare with the cool readiness of an experienced controversialist who is thoroughly familiar with his subject, and whose principal aim is more to convince his hearers, than to excite their unreasoning applause.

Commencing his labours by meeting the infidel lecturers on their own ground, under railway-arches, on waste spaces of land, or at street-corners, and thus becoming familiar with their arguments; modes of reasoning, habits of thought, and manner of conducting discussions, Mr. Cowper has availed himself of the knowledge and experience thus acquired, considerably to extend his sphere of operations, and to persuade the more thoughtful and intelligent portion of the metropolitan artisan community to act as umpires in the prolonged contest between himself and the Secularists. To this end the large and commodious building in the Old-street-road, known as the Shoreditch Town-hall, has been engaged for a series of Sunday evening lectures by Mr. Cowper, on the truths of Christianity. Considering that Mr. Bradlaugh's head-quarters are within five minutes' walking distance, and that a large portion of the surrounding industrial population are said not only to be averse to religious teaching, but also aggressively hostile in their manifestations of dislike, the experiment was of a singularly bold and spirited character. But would it be successful? Would the audiences oppose or support the lecturer? Or would they show their indifference by staying away? If the East End working men were influenced by Atheistical teaching to anything like the extent asserted by Mr. Bradlaugh's followers, the simple announcement of the Shoreditch Sunday-evening lectures would have been like flinging a lighted match into a cask of gunpowder. No people are more impatient in listening to the arguments of others than are the Secularists. While pleading for toleration in their own case, they are most intolerant in that of others.

Curious to ascertain how far Mr. Cowper had succeeded in persuading the workmen of Spitalfields, Bethnal-green, and Shoreditch, to come and listen to his arguments in defence of Christianity, we proceeded to the Shoreditch Town-hall on Sunday evening last, and found it completely filled by one of the most intelligent-looking artisan audiences ever seen beyond the precincts of Lancashire or Yorkshire. There must have been at least two thousand persons present. The largeness of this gathering was the more significant and remarkable because no unusual means had been taken to attract hearers. There were no sensational announcements, no eccentric services, no promise of anything extraordinary. Long before Mr. Cowper's lecture was concluded, it became evident that large as was the hall, it was not sufficient to contain all his would-be hearers, and many found themselves unable to procure admission. Most of those present were adults, chiefly men. Indeed the number of females was very small; they did not constitute more than a sixth part of the meeting. The people unmistakably belonged to the higher artisan class. There was nothing of the poverty-stricken air on the one side, or the portly and substantial tradesman-like aspect on the other, so common at special services intended for working men. There were plenty of broad horny hands, massive square-cut foreheads, and closely-pressed lips speaking of determination and strength of character. There was also a striking resemblance in the general features of the multitude to those characteristic of some of the north-country co-operative gatherings. We evidently had before us the flower of East London artisan thought and intelligence, men who could think as well as hear, and reason as well as read. Each person on entering was presented with a handbill containing copies of the hymns to be sung, also of the subject of the lecture. The chair was taken by Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P., who was accompanied on to the platform by Mr. Cowper and about a dozen other gentlemen. The

preliminary proceedings were very simple, consisting of a short prayer, portion of a chapter from the New Testament, and the well-known hymn commencing:

Oh, for a thousand tongues to sing
My dear Redeemer's praise.

During the singing of this hymn about a dozen persons amused themselves by smiling in a sneering and contemptuous manner, as if the whole thing was beneath their notice. In introducing the lecturer, Mr. Morley disclaimed all connection with sectarianism in any form. They were present as Christians, not as sectarians; neither had they met for purposes of controversy or discussion. Their objects were to show the reasons why they believed in the truths of Christianity, and why they deemed it essential to the happiness of man. He alluded to his own convictions and experiences, and, touching upon the education question, declared it would be an evil day for this country when religious teaching became replaced by a cold, harsh, and spiritless system of educational teaching. As he concluded, a loud buzz of approval ran through the crowd, and there was evidently a strong desire to applaud; observing which, Mr. Morley requested the meeting to carefully abstain from any of the "customary demonstrations" with which the English people signify assent or dissent when listening to arguments of a controversial nature.

Mr. B. H. Cowper then commenced his lecture, which was entitled, "The Gospel its own Witness." He is a singularly clear and fluent speaker, and expressed himself in a very plain and what has been termed "understandable" manner. He used no notes, yet never seemed at a loss for a word or quotation. Referring to the works of Holyoake, Bradlaugh, and Meredith, he pointed out how untrue and unreasonable were some of their assertions respecting the character of Christ as recorded in the New Testament; how they had cruelly misrepresented and vilified Him, and promulgated the most erroneous notions respecting His doctrines and practices. He showed that even in the estimation of many free-thinkers Christ was the most perfect man that ever lived, and from His history, as well as that of the apostles, the early Church, and Christ's real followers, he proved that the Christian Gospel was one of truth, justice, and love. Secularists denounced religion as being opposed to the interests of mankind, but he showed it to be essential to their happiness. He contrasted the lives of Confucius and other so-called philosophers, together with those of many infidels, idolators, and unbelievers generally, with those of true Christians, and asked which had been most productive of benefit to their fellow-men? He showed, moreover, how the practice of Christianity tended to develop the qualities of truth, justice, love, kindness, virtue, and holiness to an extent impossible under the systems of Plato, Lycurgus, Owen, and other favourites of the Secularist school. As Mr. Cowper proceeded in his exposure of the falsehoods and sophistries of the opponents of Christianity, the attention of his hearers became more evident, and it was with the greatest difficulty that their applause could be restrained. They seemed much impressed with the close and logical character of Mr. Cowper's arguments; even those who at the beginning came to sneer, remained to applaud, if not by clapping of hands or stamping of feet, at least by joining heartily in the words of the concluding hymn:—

There is a fountain fill'd with blood,
Drawn from Immanuel's veins,

which was sung with great fervour by those present, after which a few words of prayer brought the interesting service to a close.

We understand that Mr. George Borwick, of London, has had the honour of being appointed purveyor of his celebrated Gold Medal Baking Powder to Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands.

A DATE FOR HISTORY.—The Supreme Court of the United States on the 28th ult., decided a point which has long been mooted, but never before legally determined. The point was brought up in several cotton cases, and was, in brief, "When did the war close?" The Court fixed it as the 17th day of August, 1866, that being the date of President Johnson's proclamation to that effect.

LORD SMITH!—*Le Gaulois* says that "while the notabilities of Paris were pressing into the Church of St. Clotilde at the funeral of Count de Montalembert, another solemn procession was proceeding towards the Church of St. Philippe de Roule. The deceased was an extremely rich English lord, famous in the quarter in which he resided for his bounties. Although of an ancient and illustrious family, quartering the lilies of France upon a field *gules*, Lord Schmitt had given to our democratic country a laudable example of contempt for social prejudices by his marriage with a young workwoman of very modest position."

PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

(Continued from page 275.)

On Monday Mr. AYRTON was not able to speak with full confidence of the strength of the floors of the rooms wherein members of the Government are accustomed to receive deputations. The floors in the new Government buildings were strong enough to bear the weight of any ordinary deputation, but when gentlemen were received in the older building it would, Mr. Ayrton suggested, be desirable for their personal safety that their number should be kept within reasonable limits. Mr. GLADSTONE expected that the House would be able to adjourn for the Easter recess on the 12th of April, but it would depend, in a great measure, upon the progress made with the Irish Land Bill.

In reply to Mr. Bouvier, the SOLICITOR-GENERAL explained that the withdrawal of the records in the Beverley bribery prosecutions amounted only to a postponement of the trials, and that the step had been rendered necessary by the impossibility of finding an opportunity for trying the cases during the present assizes.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) BILL.

On the motion for the second reading of this bill, Mr. G. H. MOORE rose to move its rejection. The member for Mayo maintained that the Government was mainly responsible for the state of things in Ireland, because they had held out hopes that they were about to govern Ireland from an Irish point of view—until corrected by Mr. Gladstone, he said "according to Irish ideas"—and especially objected to the provisions concerning the press, because they associated murderers and assassins with a political agitation, and the expression of political opinions with which they had nothing to do. If this measure passed, the Irish representatives would, he maintained, have no further business in Parliament; and, as he declared amid the laughter of the House, he hoped that their constituents would call them home to assist in resisting the personal government which its provisions would establish.

Mr. CALLAN, who seconded the amendment, expressed his opinion that the threatening letters were in the main written by the schoolmasters under the system of mixed education; but assured the House, greatly to its amusement, that though he had received many of these letters, they never prevented him "going out to dine, and coming home at all hours of the night."

Mr. NEWDEGATE diversified the remarks which he addressed to the subject under discussion with allusions to Cardinal Cullen and the Mutiny at the Nore, the participants in which were, he asserted, bound together by a Ribbon oath. He did not oppose the bill, but he charged against the Government that they had for their own political purposes fostered an agitation with respect to Ireland, both in England and throughout that country, which had produced the present dangerous condition of affairs.

Mr. SAUNDERS, who delivered a clever and original speech in favour of the bill, excited a smile by an early allusion to the "lucidity and placidity" with which Mr. Fortescue introduced the bill, and afterwards afforded the House a good deal of amusement by some well-told and racy anecdotes *à propos* of threatening letters. The support which Colonel Wilson Patten gave to the bill was by no means ungrudging; but regarding the present condition of Ireland as nearly equivalent to that of France under the Reign of Terror, he did not dare to vote against it.

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Dowse) replied with reference to the instances of weak and partial administration mentioned by Colonel Patten, and explained again the principal provisions of the bill. Appealing to the House to pass it at once, he urged that Ireland had now arrived at a crisis which called for the union of all patriotic men, and though he had once been of opinion that the Liberals could govern the country more easily than their opponents, his short tenure of office, he confessed, had convinced him that there were causes to be dealt with beyond parties or persons. If this bill were tried and failed, the Government would come with all the more confidence to ask for further powers.

Mr. BAGWELL opposed the bill, believing it would be a failure, as had been all the Irish Bills of the Government. The effect of their legislative experiments had been to leave them without an adherent in Ireland. The Church Bill by its harshness of spirit had alienated a large class, the Land Bill was regarded as a mockery, and this bill would be both mischievous and ineffectual.

Mr. SYNAN strongly denounced the press clauses, while Lord C. HAMILTON supported the bill, though expecting little good from it unless it were followed by a vigorous and impartial administration of the law. Mr. STACPOOLE also supported the bill, while Mr. J. LOWTHER censured it as inadequate, and charged the Liberal party with making such a measure necessary.

Mr. MAGUIRE thought this necessity greatly exaggerated, and opposed the bill, as being of uncalled-for severity. He objected to giving additional powers to the magistracy as at present constituted, and thought much might be done for the repression of crime and outrage by modifying the military character of the police. Principally, however, Mr. Maguire criticised the oppressive clauses directed against the liberty of the press, arguing that the present law was strong enough if put in operation, and he objected to giving the grand jurors the power of assessing compensation.

Dr. BALL cordially supported the bill, which, though stringent, he expected would be efficacious for the repression of crime. He directed his attention to the new provisions—the powers to search for

documents connected with threatening letters, to arrest strangers and persons travelling by night, and to change the venue—which he eulogised as tending to the rapid vindication of the law and the checking of crime at its beginning. The present law, he showed, from his experience as a law officer, was not adequate to deal with seditious publications, and the power to detain absconding witnesses was often absolutely necessary for the administration of justice. This jurisdiction, and the compensation for outrages, he maintained, ought to be made permanent. He approved the decision of the Government not to ask for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus—which, though an appropriate mode of dealing with a political crisis, was not fitted for agrarian crimes—and he agreed also with them that if the jury system were to be altered, it must be in a general and permanent way, and not by a temporary measure. The only objection he urged to the bill was that instead of being mixed up with and made complementary to the Land Bill, it should have been brought in previously and independently. It was time long since for the Government to have interfered and enforced provisions like these. In proof, Dr. Ball drew a powerful picture of the condition of certain districts in Ireland—worse, he maintained, than in an open civil war—where outrages were committed with impunity with the view of establishing a reign of terror. Considering the decrease in the population and the increased material prosperity of the people, he thought the present state of Ireland more deplorable than at any other time; for that now outrages, confined at first to certain districts, through being unchecked so long, had invaded hitherto peaceable and untainted counties. But the machinery provided by the bill could not by itself create a "strong executive"; for that, inflexible justice, strict impartiality, and an enlightened appreciation of the wants of the country, were required.

Mr. HORSMAN expressed his disappointment at being called on once more to vote for the old stale expedient of a Coercion Bill, and that, too, by a Government which had struck out a bold and original line of their own on the Land and Church Bills. Criticising the details of the bill, he suggested that evidence might be obtained by adopting the Scotch system of preliminary inquiry, and as to the police, greater protection ought to be given to them by laying a penalty on any district where one of them was injured. Mr. Horsman complained, too, that the Premier had not marked his sense of the gravity of the crisis by himself introducing the bill.

Mr. HENLEY admitted that the Government had made out an adequate case for the bill, but censured them severely for their delay in introducing it. He indicated several points in which it would require amendment, particularly in the press clauses, which he foresaw would work harshly and unjustly.

Mr. DOWNING moved the amendment of the debate, and though the majority was evidently in favour of going on, Mr. GLADSTONE consented to the motion, expressing a hope that the debate would be brought to a close to-night.

Some other business was disposed of, and the House adjourned at twenty minutes past twelve o'clock.

THE GOVERNMENT EDUCATION BILL.

Most of our readers are aware that the Nonconformist Committee are taking measures to elicit opinion on the part of Nonconformist ministers in reference to the religious provisions of the Government Bill. As many as 7,600 forms of petition and protest—two separate documents—have been sent out, to be signed by ministers only. The petitions are to be presented to the House of Commons, and the "protest" is for presentation to Mr. Gladstone, in order that the views of Nonconformist ministers may be clearly made known to the Government. Out of the 7,600 forms not fewer than 4,700 had been returned, signed; and as the documents have been only four days in circulation, a large number of additional signatures may be expected. Those ministers who have already signed the petition or protest are as follow:—Congregationalist, 1,200; Wesleyan Methodists, 950; Baptists, 900; Unitarians, 250; Primitive Methodists, 450; and other denominations, 950. The number of refusals to sign is only thirty-eight, most of these coming from Wesleyan ministers, who decline to take action until the report of the Conference Committee is issued. The signatures of Wesleyans, however, we believe, amount to above one-half the whole body of ministers in the Connexion. A large number of the signatures received come from the rural districts, and are accompanied by letters, expressing deep satisfaction with the action of the committee, and giving facts from personal experience to prove that the worst anticipations of the committee would be realised should the bill pass without amendment in the points objected to. We are requested to ask those ministers who have not yet returned the forms of protest and petition, to do so without delay.

At the meeting which is announced to be held at St. James's Hall next Friday evening, the amendments proposed by the National Education League will be considered. Mr. John Stuart Mill, who has but just returned from Avignon, has promised to take part in the proceedings.

The Nonconformists of Manchester have organised a committee for the purpose of watching and influencing the progress of the Education Bill through Parliament.

At a large meeting in the Lyceum Theatre, Sunderland, to consider the Education Bill, resolutions were agreed to to the effect that the education in State-aided schools should be undenominational and unsectarian, but the reading of the Holy Scriptures should not be excluded, and that religious education should not be left to local boards.

A town's meeting was held on Friday night, at Hanley, to consider the Education Bill. A resolution was moved protesting against power being given to local boards to decide whether any or no religion shall be taught in schools; against the levying of rates for denominational education; and against the conscience clause of the Government Bill. An amendment was proposed approving the Government Bill. The resolution was carried by a very great majority, and a petition in favour of the bill was adopted.

A large meeting of Roman Catholics, to consider the Education Bill, was held at the Theatre Royal, Liverpool, on Thursday, under the presidency of Sir R. Gerard. The chairman advocated compulsion as necessary, owing to the debased condition of Roman Catholics. Mr. Maguire, M.P., moved a resolution, which was carried, that religious education alone would be acceptable. He claimed liberty of education, and counselled Catholics to take their stand upon principle and conscience in the coming fight against infidelity and the destruction of the marriage tie. Amid great enthusiasm he demanded that England should concede what Prussia had accorded to Catholics. The Rev. G. Porter, President of the Jesuit College, denounced the proceedings of the right of the State over that of the parent as a Pagan principle. He asserted that, according to the Government return, Catholic schools showed a higher standard of efficiency than those of Protestants. Resolutions were also carried in favour of the extension of the existing system on the basis of Imperial supervision and taxation.

The West Suffolk Chamber of Agriculture met at Bury on Thursday to consider the Government Education Bill; Major Wilson in the chair. After a long discussion, in which a great variety of opinion was expressed, a resolution was agreed to approving the general principle of the bill; but objections were entertained to several of the details of the measure. Most of the speakers were opposed to compulsion of any kind, while some were willing to submit to indirect compulsion. It was also thought that the limit of age at which attendance at school should be enforced, ought to be reduced from twelve to ten years. Very strong opposition was also manifested to the clause which leaves the character of religious instruction in the hands of school boards, as calculated to engender strife where opposing parties are nearly balanced. The general opinion prevailed that the bill might be rendered satisfactory by amendments in committee.

The *Times* remarks that the solution of the religious difficulty foreshadowed by Mr. Gladstone is so obvious that it would be absurd to credit Mr. Mundella with the authorship of it, though he was the first to suggest it in the House of Commons. It must have approved itself to most unprejudiced minds long ago, but for the strange confusion of thought attaching to the equivocal word "denominational." In describing a system of education as "denominational," we mean either or both of two very different things. It may be denominational in management without being denominational in teaching, or it may be denominational in teaching without being denominational in management. The Irish system is perhaps the most familiar instance of the former alternative. Its characteristic feature is a "time conscience clause" that is, a rule that although no religion, or no religion peculiar to any sect, may be taught during certain hours, any religion whatever may be taught at other convenient hours in the school-building. So far as the children are concerned, the difference between this and a liberal denominational system is hardly perceptible, for it signifies little whether the hours devoted to secular instruction are to monopolise the name of "school hours," or whether school hours be nominally extended so as to cover the hours for religious instruction. That instruction, the *Times* ventures to predict, would generally be given, as it is now, by the schoolmaster himself, and, if sensibly given, would be attended by the vast majority of children with the full consent of their parents, whether the schoolmaster were a Churchman or a Dissenter. It is to be hoped that all parties may ultimately acquiesce in a settlement on this basis, however it may be modified in application.

The *Standard* says that if the Government scheme is to be so manipulated as to win over the Secularists, nothing can be more certain than that it will prove repugnant to those who uphold the denominational system, or at least the liberty of religious instruction. There are two ways of interpreting "the time clause," which is proposed as a substitute for the conscience clause, with the view of effecting, to use Mr. Gladstone's words, "a complete separation in time, and in time alone, of the religious from what is called the secular education." On the one hand, it may mean that a certain time during the school hours shall be set apart for religious instruction, during which objecting parents may withdraw their children. On the other hand, it may mean a regulation by which religious instruction might be thrust out of the ordinary curriculum, and relegated to certain hours before school had commenced or after it had terminated. The former regulation might be

fraught with considerable inconvenience in practice, but in principle it would hardly be open to any objection which does not attach to the already conceded conscience clause. The latter, however, would decide in favour of the Secularists the whole question in dispute between them and the Denominationalists. Its acceptance by the latter would involve the surrender of the very basis of their position. It would be impossible. The Government have a full and fair opportunity of settling this vital question on a large, comprehensive, and durable basis, provided only that they follow the wise and temperate instinct which presided over the measure as it now lies before the House of Commons. If they tamper with it in accordance with the pernicious suggestions of the Secularists, that opportunity will assuredly be wasted.

CHINA AND HER MISSIONARIES.

I.

We are now drawing to the close of the year 1869. With regard to China, this has been a year fraught with deep interest. As missionaries we have every reason to be thankful that so much public attention has been drawn to our existence and work. The English Press, the Foreign Minister at Peking, and the Duke of Somerset, have all done us good service. The irrational cry against missions and missionaries elicited by the Yang-Chow riot, shows that an incredible amount of ignorance existed in respect to the missionary enterprise in China. The work and the agents have been misrepresented, calumniated, and ridiculed in no measured terms by many of your leading newspapers, and by some of the peers of the realm. Here in China, too, they have been handled rather roughly by a section of the press. Men who have never put a foot within the door of a missionary's house, chapel, or schoolroom, think that they have a right to speak authoritatively of him and his labours. In attacking missionaries there is nothing to be feared here. To asperse them is a perfectly safe employment; for it is generally supposed they have no reputation to be tarnished.

In the present cry we have only a repetition of the old and silly story about missionaries. The traditional notion that the missionary must be either a hypocrite or a dolt had its birth on the same day as missions; and, though it ought to have been strangled there and then, it still lives, and amusingly presents itself before us in ever-varying forms, according to the exigence of the case or the times. While the individual missionary may be exempted from this judgment and esteemed a man of education and sterling worth, the genus missionary seems hopelessly condemned. For it there is no mercy. "A missionary must be an enthusiast; or, if he is not an enthusiast, he is probably a rogue." This is plain enough, and sweeping enough; but His Grace the Duke of Somerset deserves some credit for having given the sentiment such a concise and pithy expression. The *Times*, too, assures us that of all men the missionaries are the most imprudent and wrong-headed, and that neither Parliament, nor the Press, nor general society is fond of them. Believing that the missionaries must be enthusiasts or rogues, the Duke of Somerset was not far wrong in wishing to know whether the Government would adopt some more efficient and stringent mode of dealing with them, either by sending them out of the country, or by telling them that they should go no further, and imperil our friendly relations with China by their proceedings. And if they are the most imprudent and wrong-headed of men, the Government, though unable to evict them if they choose to go or stay, would be quite justified in absolutely refusing to give to them and their enterprise the smallest countenance. But is all this true of the missionaries? The fact is, that nothing can be more untrue; and this I hope to show clearly in the following remarks.

I may observe here, that since the Duke of Somerset's grand speech in the House of Lords, a marked change has come over the tone of the most rabid portion of the English press in China on missions. Had His Grace confined himself to the noble work of traducing missionaries, and loudly demanding their eviction, he would have been hailed as an oracle, and applauded as a far-seeing statesman; but, unfortunately for his reputation, he must have a fling at the merchants, and declare that there is no such sink of iniquity as Shanghai. There he put his foot into it. Now Shanghai is known in these parts as the *Model Settlement*, so to call Shanghai the greatest sink of iniquity, was simply to commit a sin which cannot be forgiven. In order to prove how entirely ill-informed and perverse His Grace must be on all matters relating to China, our former foes are only too glad to lay aside old animosities, and bear their testimony to the fact that missionaries are not the noxious vermin that he has declared them to be, that their intentions are upright and praiseworthy, and that they have somewhat to show of which they may fairly boast. It would be well, however, if our mercantile friends and others, who wince under this severe castigation, would bear in mind that the missionaries are possessed of feelings as well as themselves, and that it is a mark of neither intelligence, candour, nor large-heartedness, to be ever reiterating that stock of ribaldry about missionaries, which, after all, is nothing more nor less than the offspring of gross ignorance and stolid prejudice. Whilst missionaries can afford to treat all unjust accusations maliciously or thoughtlessly preferred

against them by their enemies with the silent contempt which they deserve, it is a duty which they owe to themselves as well as to the cause, to do what they can to remove any erroneous views honestly, though ignorantly, held by those who take a deep interest in their labours, and who would greatly rejoice in their success.

Whilst the missionaries, as a class, are pretty generally supposed to be men of an inferior type, the word missionary is connected in many minds with an ideal perfection which is seldom or never realised in this world. Whatever they may actually be, they are expected to be something more than men. Would that every missionary in China could rise to his own standard of personal consecration, self-abnegation, and Christian heroism! It will be well for the friends of missions, however, to bear in mind that the missionaries are men like themselves; that, like themselves, they have their weaknesses, follies, and sins; that there are missionaries and missionaries; that there may be among them a few, as in the ministry at home, who have mistaken their calling entirely; that, taking them all in all, they are educated, peaceable, honest, earnest, hard-working men; and that, though not one of them would claim the honour of having realised his own ideal of a missionary, by far the majority of them deem it to be their duty and privilege to live, labour, suffer, and die for the good of the people to whom they have been sent. Such, I think, are the missionaries.

In order to understand their relation to the late disturbances, and to rebut the various charges preferred against them, it will be necessary to form a right estimate of the character of the people among whom their lot is cast, and whose welfare they seek to promote. Mr. Burlingame has given us a glowing description of this people. "She (China)," he says, "comprehends very well that she must come into relation with the civilisation which is pressing all around her; and comprehending that, she does not wait to be approached, but comes and extends to you her hand. She tells you she is ready to take upon her ancient civilisation the graft of your civilisation. She invites your merchants, she invites your missionaries, she tells them to plant the shining cross on every hill and in every valley, for she is hospitable to fair argument." Were all this true, our difficulties with China would be at an end; but, unfortunately, it is not true, and the picture is so unlike the original that the contrast looks perfectly ludicrous. That the Chinese is a great people, a polite people, a patient people, and an industrious people, we all knew before; but that it is a progress-loving people, no one, except Mr. Burlingame, had even suspected. Sir Rutherford Alcock seems to have arrived at a very different conclusion on this point. In his letter to Consul Medhurst on telegraphy, he writes:—"Of the desire for progress which the Chinese mission now in Europe assured Dr. Macgowan's countrymen was so ardent and general with the rulers of China, there is no evidence here. If any hopes are built on its existence, therefore, I fear there is nothing but disappointment in store for those who indulge in them." Mr. Hart, Inspector-General of customs, tells us plainly that nothing but complete ignorance of China could have permitted the public to assume that the vast changes now looked for are regarded as necessary, and longed for by China herself. He states that, ever since his arrival in Peking, in 1861, he has been urging the Chinese Government to move in the direction of what the West understands by the word progress; but that to the mass of Chinese officials the word improvement would convey no idea corresponding to that which it has in the Western mind; that perhaps some forty officials in the provinces, and perhaps ten in Peking, have a glimmering notion of what it is that the foreigner means when he speaks in general terms of progress; that of these fifty, not one is prepared to enter boldly on a career of progress, and take the consequence of even a feeble initiative; and that the object of the Burlingame Mission was not to announce to the western world that China wished progress, and the unification of the whole human race, but to cultivate and conserve friendly relations, by explaining to each of the treaty powers the many difficulties that China cannot fail to experience in attempting to change existing conditions and to introduce novelties, and to prevent, in so far as possible, any resort to hostile pressure to wring from China concessions for which the Government did not as yet feel itself ready. Mr. Hart, however, maintains that a start has already been made. But the proof of this he finds not in a desire on the part of the rulers of China for inland steam navigation, railroads, telegraphic lines, the working of mines, an extension of friendly intercourse with other nations, etc., but in their felt want of power to resist all innovations, and the efforts they are putting forth to secure it by establishing arsenals and building gunboats. He says that China has a master want—the want of material strength, and that in her attempt to become strong physically, China has entered upon a career of improvement, and will, step by step, develop resources, create industries, and achieve progress materially, intellectually, morally. What Mr. Hart means to say is this: China hates what we call progress, and wishes to have nothing to do with it. She would, if she could, resist foreign intrusion, restrict foreign intercourse, and regain her position of isolation. But she cannot do this, for she lacks the necessary material strength, *alias* arsenals and gunboats. The Government is now establishing arsenals and building gunboats with this end in view, and Mr. Hart sees in this step, which has its origin in intense dislike to all innovations, and a fixed resolve to resist all improvements, a fair start in the line of progress, for it must, he thinks, lead to something higher and

better. The fact that even Mr. Hart can accord to the Chinese no higher praise than this, and that this is the ground on which he propounds his "leave-her-alone" policy, is the strongest proof we could possibly have of the intensely obstructive and retrogressive spirit which pervades and sways the Chinese Government. It shows, too, that if China is ever to advance she must not be left alone, for, in that case, the want of even this material strength would not be felt, and she would consequently relapse into indifference and never move a single step. All the concessions she has ever made to western diplomacy have been the result of pressure from without, and Mr. Hart sees clearly, in spite of his "leave-her-alone" policy, that to do away with all pressure would be the very worst thing that could possibly befall China, and that therefore it is of the last importance that she should be surrounded by influences tending to confirm her in her feeling of want of strength, and not calculated to send her asleep in her weakness. China has sent a mission to Europe and America to ask for time, but no one knows better than Mr. Hart that the time to make a single important concession will never come, if she is once allowed to feel that she is perfectly safe in her condition of stagnation and isolation.

There is a great deal of talk about Chinese civilisation. It is greatly overrated, and underrated. In many respects it is both wonderful and admirable. It is very interesting to study its rise and progress. But the study is as difficult as it is interesting, and what we know most certainly about it is that, by some mysterious cause, it was arrested many centuries ago, to be succeeded by a long and dreary period of lifeless conservatism. For many many ages the Chinese have scarcely advanced a step in the path of true progress. In almost every respect we find them to-day what they were two thousand years ago. The Chinaman of to-day is, in all the important features of his life and character, the *fac simile* of the Chinaman of the remote past. He sees things in the same light in which his ancient brother saw them, and he talks and reasons about them in the same old-fashioned way. The sweep of his vision is bounded by the same horizon. He may see as far as his remote ancestor did, but not a point farther. The *minimum visible* of both is identical. The great universe presents the same aspect to him as it did to his prototype—neither larger nor smaller—neither more nor less sublime. Nature speaks to him in no new voices, and discloses to him no new laws, forces, or elements. The civil wars of China have been many, and most of them have been protracted, and carried on on gigantic scales; yet hardly one of them has resulted in anything higher or better than a temporary change of masters. Though we read of one or two political and social changes of some importance effected by these dynastic revolutions, we fail to discover any traces of an impression produced on the national mind by any or all of them. That has always remained stereotyped, and more than proof against all disturbing forces. In character, principles, aspirations, and aim, the nation has successfully emerged out of each cataclysm unchanged. The enfranchisement of the people, progress, and reform, in the sense in which these terms are understood in the West, are never aimed at by an insurrectionist or a great Minister in China. The idea of establishing a new order of things, that shall be an improvement on the old, never enters into the mind of any one. There are one or two memorable exceptions on record; but this is emphatically the rule. Such a change the people neither expect nor desire. All they look for is the redress of certain grievances arising from maladministration, the rectification of corrupted manners, the reformation of abuses, and the restoration of primeval order. Beyond this point their hopes and aspirations never go; and a political or an insurgent chief who should attempt anything more, would be an object of almost universal execration. Hence the reason why Chinese history is, on the whole, the driest and most uninteresting of studies. Beyond a certain point it is not a record of either progress or regress, but of stagnation. And hence it is also that the Chinese are the most inscrutable and unattractive specimens of humanity we come in contact with. They belong to the past, of which we know but little, and with which we cannot sympathise much. The impress of the ages is stamped on the Chinaman's brow. He is more nearly related to the men beyond the flood than to the men of the present. If one of the Abrahamic age were to rise from his grave he would recognise in the modern Chinaman a contemporary and a brother. They would have no difficulty in understanding each other, whilst both would be equally puzzled as to what to make of us. The Chinaman does not belong to us, and we, therefore, cannot understand him, and find it extremely difficult to like him. His looks are antique, his notions grotesque, his tastes whimsical, and his whole life and conduct odd and inexplicable. But then we are as far from him as he is from us; and he finds it just as difficult to understand and appreciate us, and that for the same reason. We are often surprised to find that the Chinese have so little affection for us, manifest so little respect towards us, and that we find it so difficult to lodge ourselves in their hearts. But we don't reflect on the fact that we have about as little affection for them, and that a genuine Chinaman is about the last man that we would admit into the sanctuaries of our own bosom. But are we not much superior to them? Are we not more manly, more intelligent, more skilful, more humane, more civilised, nay, are we not more estimable every way? Yes, according to our way of thinking. No, emphatically No, according to theirs. And it would be nearly as difficult for us to alter our opinion on

the subject, as it is for them to alter theirs. If we could only borrow a Chinaman's eyes for a few minutes, we should appear strange beings to ourselves even, and probably agree with him that, comparatively, we had made but little real progress. We say that the Chinese are semi-civilised at least; they are not prepared to allow that we have reached that point.

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, December 31, 1869.

Foreign and Colonial.

FRANCE.

IMPERIAL LETTER ON THE CONSTITUTION.

The Emperor has addressed the following important letter to M. Ollivier:—

I think it opportune, under present circumstances, to adopt all reforms required by the Constitutional Government of the Empire, in order to put an end to the immoderate desires for a change which prevail in certain minds, and also not to leave public opinion unsettled by creating instability. The first place I accord to those reforms which refer to the Constitution and the prerogatives of the Senate. The Constitution of 1852 had, above all things, to provide the Government with the means of establishing authority and order, but it remained to be perfected. As long as that Constitution existed, the country would not have allowed the establishment of public liberties on solid bases. At the present time, when successive changes have gradually created a constitutional régime in harmony with the basis laid down in the plebiscite, it is important to replace in the domain of law all that more specially has reference to the preservation of legislative order—to impress a definite character upon the latest reforms—to place the Constitution above all controversy, and to call upon the Senate, that grand body which contains so many brilliant men, to lend to the new régime their most efficacious concurrence. I therefore request you to come to an understanding with your colleagues, and lay before me the draft of a *Senatus Consultum* which shall firmly fix the fundamental dispositions deriving from the plebiscite of 1852, and which shall divide the Legislative Power between the two Chambers, and restore to the nation that portion of constituent power it had delegated to me.

The *Français*, the Ministerial organ, declares that ten Liberal Senators intend shortly to introduce a resolution in the Senate, proposing that the latter shall relinquish its constituent power, receiving in its stead the legislative power possessed by the *Chambre de Paris* under the Government of July. The same journal says:—"The intrigues of the party of reaction to prevent the accomplishment of the projected modifications in the organisation of the constitutional power have completely failed. The Emperor firmly maintains the liberal resolutions adopted on the proposition of the Cabinet."

Friday was the birthday of the Prince Imperial, who was born on March 16, 1856, and who is consequently fourteen years old. The army promotions, and appointments in the Legion of Honour, by which the event is annually celebrated, are published in the *Official Journal*. Among the new officers in the Legion of Honour is M. Chassepot, Inspector of Arms, and inventor of the rifle named after him.

The French Cabinet, it is said, are unanimous upon all home questions, and also upon the line of policy to be adopted towards the Ecumenical Council. The members are actively engaged in the consideration of the constitutional faculties to be transferred to the *Corps Législatif* in order promptly to submit proposals to the Senate.

TRIAL OF PRINCE PIERRE BONAPARTE.

The High Court of Justice assembled at Tours on Monday, and the proceedings commenced at 11:30 a.m., before a crowded court. All the civil and military authorities, as well as the mother and brother of the late Victor Noir, were present.

Prince Pierre Bonaparte was introduced a little before one o'clock, accompanied by a captain of gendarmes. The jury having been sworn, the President read an address to the jury, explaining the exceptional jurisdiction in the present case, and their duties. The interrogatory of the Prince was then proceeded with. The President: You were condemned in 1849?—Prince Pierre: I was then grossly insulted. The President: An article to be regretted has been published by the *Avenir* *Corse*.—Prince Pierre: I wished to defend the honour of my family. On being questioned respecting the incidents at Auteuil, the Prince repeated exactly the recital made by him in his reply to the Juge d'Instruction.

Why did you enter the saloon with a revolver?—I always carry a revolver. Your hand was on the revolver in your pocket?—To this the Prince made no reply, but stated afterwards that M. de Fonvielle showed his pistol first. Why did you fire upon M. de Fonvielle, who endeavoured to escape?—M. de Fonvielle endeavoured to fire, and was taking aim.

A printed plan of the house of the Prince at Auteuil was distributed among the members of the jury, and the President gave some explanations.

By M. Floquet, the counsel for the Noir family: Why was your pistol found fully loaded when you were arrested?—The Prince: I reloaded because I believed myself in danger from persons outside.

The sitting of the court was then suspended for a short time.

The court reassembled at 2:50 p.m. M. Lalmand, secretary of M. Roidot, Commissioner of Police, read the deposition of M. de Fonvielle made on the 10th of January, in which the Prince is accused of having struck a blow before firing. M. de Fonvielle was then summoned into the witness-box. He repeated his version of the affair, and said he did not imagine

that he was going to visit an assassin. The Prince replied, "Assassin yourself!" and proceeded to advert to the Orsini conspiracy. M. de Fonvielle, questioned by the President, declared that he himself was always armed; had he not been so, he should have been killed at the Prince's house. The Prince hereupon declared that M. Fonvielle's version was entirely false. The latter had invaded his house armed, and should not now be a witness but a defendant in the cause. In reply to Mr. Leroux, the Prince's counsel, M. de Fonvielle denied positively ever having said that the Prince had been struck by Noir.

The witness M. Grousset, manager of the *Marseillaise*, then arrived, attended by two gendarmes. On his entering the court he said something not heard by the public, but which caused murmurs from the people outside. M. de Grandperret, the Procureur-Impérial, told him that if he repeated this outrageous conduct he should be compelled to inflict a punishment upon him. M. Grousset replied, but was interrupted by the President, who requested him to confine himself to the facts of the case. M. Grousset then gave explanations at great length, and in the course of his observations said that Prince Pierre's crime had caused a universal affright, and that he (the witness) had never better understood the sad condition into which eighteen years of Imperial rule had plunged France. M. de Grandperret hereupon rose and stated that he did not wish to demand any greater penalty than that which the witness was already suffering in prison, but he requested that the witness should be reconducted thither, and that his written deposition should be read to the Court. The President acceded to this request, and the sitting closed at five p.m.

AUSTRIA.

A Vienna telegram says that Herr Giskra has resigned the portfolio of Minister of the Interior, in consequence of the decision of the Cabinet not to bring in a measure for electoral reform this session. In the sitting of the Lower House of the Reichsrath yesterday the general debate on the estimates for 1870 was resumed. The Polish and Slave Deputies supported the budget. The general debate having closed, the special debate followed, and the civil list and the expenditure for the Reichsrath were passed.

Troubles have again broken out in Dalmatia. The great concessions made by the Austrian Government, far from exciting the gratitude and conciliating the good-will of those lately in rebellion, have only stimulated them to a more insolent and swaggering pretension, and to an open defiance to all authority. A party of gendarmes despatched to the village of Pobori to execute a search-warrant were repulsed with force, and three dangerously wounded. The iron blockhouses which the Austrians had ordered to be sent back to Vienna have been again called for, and the road from Risano to Dradjef will now be secured along the entire length by a chain of forts. It is well known that Russian influence is no stranger to this movement, and the Montenegrins are, this time at least, frank enough to admit that they are prepared to side with the insurgents.

ITALY.

A telegram from Ravenna says that General Escoffier, the Prefect of that city, was on Saturday assassinated by an inspector of police. Signor Farini questioned the Government in Parliament on Saturday afternoon. He wished the country to be assured that the assassination was not due to political motives. Signor Lanza replied that the murderer was named Cattaneo, and he had killed the General in his room. The General had asked and obtained the transfer of Cattaneo from his post of inspector of police, for reasons of service. Cattaneo had thereupon addressed a request to the Ministry to obtain the revocation of this order, which was refused. Signor Lanza expressed regret at the loss of a general of such eminent qualities, and who had rendered great services to the country.

In Saturday's sitting of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, during the discussion of the bill for the provisional exercise of the Budget, the Minister of War announced that 30,000 men would shortly be sent home on furlough. The *Economista d'Italia* announces that a decree will shortly be issued reducing the personnel of the diplomatic and consular agencies abroad. On Sunday the bill for the provisional exercise of the Budget till the end of April was adopted by 164 votes against 58.

SPAIN.

The Spanish *Official Gazette* publishes a decree rendering it imperative upon all the clergy to take an oath to the Constitution within two months.

It is asserted that the Government have resolved to abstain from sending a special envoy to the Ecumenical Council, in consequence of the spirit which prevails at Rome.

The funeral of Don Enrique de Bourbon took place on Thursday in Madrid. An immense crowd was present at the ceremony, but perfect order prevailed, and no anti-Montpensier demonstrations occurred. The funeral was conducted by Freemasons, to which body the deceased belonged. When the priests saw Masonic insignia on the coffin they refused to perform the religious service.

Many Unionist functionaries have resigned. It is believed probable that the Regent will resign should the rupture between the Unionists and the Radicals prove definitive.

AMERICA.

The House of Representatives has passed the bill admitting Texas into the Union under the same

restrictions as were imposed in the cases of Virginia and Mississippi. The Senate's Committee on Foreign Relations have reported adversely upon the treaty for the annexation of San Domingo. The friends of the treaty are still sanguine of having it considered in open session. A delegation of negroes from Tennessee are in Washington, urging Congress to take measures for their protection from the alleged oppression of the State laws, and from outrages by the Ku-Klux bands.

Carl Schurz has made a speech in the Senate, strongly opposing the resolutions offered proposing the re-establishment of military rule and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Georgia. Carl Schurz declared that this proposition embodied a wanton and flagrant usurpation.

A resolution has been introduced in the Senate to provide for a Government survey of the proposed Tehuantepec Ship Canal, and for the encouragement of the project.

The Free-trade party in the United States are making vigorous efforts to promulgate their views. Another organ has been started in New York, devoted exclusively to the advocacy of free-trade opinions. We gather from it that advanced views on the tariff question are rapidly gaining ground in all parts of the United States.

There are reports that the African slave-trade has been revived by vessels claiming to sail under the American flag, and in the Senate Mr. Wilson (Republican), of Massachusetts, has introduced a resolution calling upon the President for information whether any measures have been taken by the Government to assist in suppressing the African slave traffic.

The Chicago journals publish intelligence from the Red River, stating that Riel has released the Canadian prisoners, but has banished Doctor Schultz and other leaders of the "reactionary" party.

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND.

The recent alteration in the land laws of Victoria was attracting emigrants from the adjoining colonies.

In South Australia some fresh gold discoveries have been made, and when the mail left there were sanguine hopes that others were in store.

Advices from New Zealand stated that Te Kooti, with about 400 men, was hovering round the Upper Thames, and there appeared some reason to apprehend that he was secretly assisted by the Maori king. The withdrawal of the troops had weakened the forces at the disposal of the Government, and emboldened Te Kooti to threaten the settled districts on the Waikato.

The following cable telegrams have since been received:—

Sydney, Feb. 23.—Mr. Robertson, the late Premier, has resigned his seat in the Legislative Assembly.

Adelaide, March 1.—Parliament has been prorogued, pending the dissolution.

Melbourne, March 1.—Parliament has been reopened. The position of the Ministry is considered strong.

Sydney, Feb. 23.—Intelligence from New Zealand reports great depression among the colonists. Hostilities had recommenced, and several skirmishes had taken place.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

The German papers announce the death of Moscheles, the once famous pianist and composer, and the tutor of Thalberg and Mendelssohn.

The railway trains over Mont Cenis have ceased running for the time, owing to the heavy drifts of snow.

The University of Vienna has decided to open its medical lectures and confer medical diplomas on women.

Père Hyacinthe, wearing the dress of a private citizen, was present on Wednesday at the funeral of Count Montalembert.

The Australian papers announce the death of Mr. Edward Denison, M.P. for Newark, which took place in Melbourne on the 26th of January. He went out for the benefit of his health.

Princess Czartoryski (says the *Westminster Gazette*) has just entered the very convent of the Carmelites at Cracow concerning which the world heard so much a little while ago, in connection with the insane nun Barbara Ubryk.

The receipts of the Suez Canal from the opening to the end of February amounted to 908,599 francs (36,343*l.*). The traffic, which in January was at the rate of one vessel every other day, was in February at the rate of one vessel every day.

COAL IN INDIA.—Dr. Mouat has made a great discovery. He has found coal at Midnapore, whilst engaged in boring for water for the use of the gaol. This is, indeed, a treasure trove. It is not impossible that further borings may establish the existence of a coal field beneath the laterite formation that extends the whole way from Ranigunge to Midnapore.—*Englishman*.

PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS IN JAPAN.—A telegram from Yokohama, giving news to the 23rd of February, says that the Japanese authorities continued to persecute the native Christians, and were demanding that foreign missionaries should be prohibited from teaching the natives. It is added:—"A bad feeling towards foreigners prevails in all directions, officials especially being closely watched." Other advices from Yokohama state that the authorities are still persecuting and banishing the native Christians of Osaka, Nagasaki, and Hioja.

THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH arrived at Bombay on Friday afternoon, and was received at the railway-station by the Governor and suite, the chief civil and military authorities, and the Guicowar of Baroda, the Rajah of Kholapore, the Rajah of Kutch, and the Nawab of Jheend. Many other Indian chiefs

were present. The Duke is to leave on Friday next for Madras. On the 16th the ships in the harbour were illuminated, and next day a grand ball was given at the Government House. The Duke also laid the foundation-stone of a Seamen's Home, towards which the Guicowar has contributed 20,000*l.* The Duke left Bombay for Bhopore on Saturday.

THE MORMONS.—The *Baltimore American* of the 2nd inst., publishes a letter from a correspondent in Salt Lake City, dated the 20th of February. The writer says:—"It has been definitely ascertained that Brigham Young, with several prominent Saints, will start for the south early next week, with a large train and camp equipage. It is announced as his intention to be gone three months, but none outside the flock know his purpose or destination. It is strange, to say the least, his leaving at such a time as the present, and conjectures are rife concerning the purpose of the journey, the favourite one among the Gentiles being that it is with the object of founding a new Zion further south in case the Government insists on the execution of the laws."

EXCESSIVE HEAT IN AUSTRALIA.—The weather has been a somewhat prominent topic of conversation this month. Twice in Melbourne the thermometer has reached 107 degrees in the shade, and on many other days the mercury has stood at 100 degrees and upwards. At Sandhurst and Echuca, and other inland towns, the heat has been even more intense. On one of the hottest of the hot days the thermometer at Echuca stood at 113 degrees in the shade, and at Deniliquin, a town fifty miles further inland, and within the territory of New South Wales, the almost incredible temperature of 117 degrees in the shade was recorded. To the physical suffering of which the extreme heat has been the cause has been added, in most of the country districts, the distress consequent upon the loss of crops and dwellings by bush fires. In one instance a whole township, that of Donovan's Creek, was burnt down.—*Melbourne Argus*.

THE TERRIBLE COLLISION OFF JAPAN.—Detailed accounts have now reached us of the inquiry at Kanagawa, on the 27th January, into the circumstances connected with the collision between the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamer Bombay and the United States corvette Onaida, near Yokohama, in Japan, on the 24th January. In his evidence before the court, Captain Eyre, of the Bombay, stated that he did not stop to render any assistance, because he did not think any damage had been done. The shock of the collision was very light. He furthermore stated that he saw no signals to stop, and heard no sound or voices from the Onaida. Evidence to the same effect was given by the chief officer and the pilot. The inquiry was then adjourned, but the sentence of the court, suspending the certificate of the captain of the Bombay for six months, has already been announced by telegraph.

FENIAN DISSENSIONS IN AMERICA.—A New York paper states that at a recent meeting of the Fenian Senate in New York, General O'Neill presented a report containing a favourable statement as to the number of men and amount of material at the disposal of the organisation, and in earnest terms urged upon the members the advisability of an early invasion of Canada. The majority, however, were strongly opposed to immediate action in the matter. The meeting broke up without arriving at any definite conclusion. It was just after this meeting had taken place that the President of the Fenian Senate was shot in the streets by the ex-secretary of that body, who has been committed for trial. An American letter says:—"We have orders issued by 'President General' O'Neill, and counter orders by 'President of the Senate' Gibbons. O'Neill revoked the order for the New York Congress, and declared Chicago the place, and the 19th of April the time. Gibbons orders that no delegates be sent to any of O'Neill's Congresses. The rivals agree, however, in representing that there is an alarming impecuniosity in the Fenian treasury."

FAMINE AND DROUGHT AT JERUSALEM.—The touching appeal addressed the other day by the Jews of Jerusalem to their generous compatriot, Sir Moses Montefiore, is confirmed to us now on the authority of the Anglican bishop. A sore famine is in the land, and unless help be sent them from abroad the people are well nigh helpless. The cisterns have given out, the heavens are locked fast, and what is far graver, the springs in the neighbourhood are steadily drying up. A small donkey's load of water costs 6*d.* now to the poor Jews, whose family income, we are told, is but 1*s.* 1*d.* per week. To verify terribly the adage that "misfortunes never come alone," the unhappy country is overspread with clouds of locusts, which have settled down on all the most fertile country—on Sharon, Galilee, and the valley of the Jordan. The bishop says:—"On the 22nd our hopes revived; black clouds were rising, and the barometer falling, but not a drop of rain fell, and ever since the weather has been intensely hot, the air so filled with dust as to render the mountains of Moab invisible. The cisterns are now empty. Bir Ayoub, in the Valley of Hinnom, and Kedron's Brook, have been seized by the Government for the soldiers. Water can still, however, be bought, though we have reason to fear that the authorities are about to lay a tax on all that is brought into the city. It is pitiful to hear the cries and sobs of the poor destitute people, especially the emaciated Jews. Provisions are eight times dearer than a few years ago, and for the first time people are murmuring against travellers coming to Jerusalem, as they say, to drink up what little water there is. Unless God sends us a plentiful latter rain, which is still possible, many must perish of famine and thirst."

Literature.

CHURCH LIFE—ANCIENT AND MODERN.*

Two of the most interesting essays in "Ecclesia" are Mr. Baldwin Brown's on "The Religious Life and Christian Society," and Dr. Mullens's on "Modern Missions and their Results." They deserve to be studied together for the suggestive contrast they furnish between the Christianity of mediæval Rome and that of modern Europe. The "religious life" was as distinctive a feature of the Church of the Middle Ages as missionary labour is of the Church of to-day. The monastery was itself largely a missionary institution. The dream of the Western "Orders" was to subdue the world to Christ, and to gather the nations into the kingdom of heaven. The religious houses were centres of civilisation, and homes of literature among barbarous people; they gave form to social life as Protestant missionaries have done for the South Sea Islands, and as, we may hope, they will do for the African continent. If we rightly estimate the difference between the mediæval and the modern modes of action, we shall be largely helped to an apprehension of fundamental differences between Catholicism and Protestantism.

The monastery was thoroughly Roman in its character. It was a spiritual *colonia*; disregarding national habit and tradition, it aimed to transport Roman organisation everywhere; it was a section of Rome set down in remote lands. It was this constant reference to Rome, the habit of dependence on Rome alone, of regarding Rome as the only source of inspiration, which led to the contests between the orders and the secular clergy, and brought about the jealousy of national rulers by which the orders were weakened and wasted. Modern Protestant missions are thoroughly Western in their supreme faith in the ideas of the Gospel and their comparative disregard for institutions; in their respect also for national habits and customs; in their endeavour to purify existing societies by the personal power of truth, with the assurance that these will then develop themselves in fitting forms, varying indeed, but all worthy of Christian men. Mr. Baldwin Brown glances at another characteristic difference between the spirit of the decaying Roman Empire and that of modern Christian society. The churches of our days are animated by profound hope for humanity and faith in men; the society in which the monastic system developed itself was hopeless because of its corruption, and deeply wretched. Mr. Brown refuses to assign this as the mainspring of the ascetic movement, but he recognises it as largely helping it. "It cannot be doubted that the utter wretchedness of life under the decaying Empire, the weariness and heart-sickness to which Pilate gave such dread expression, helped the movement mightily." And he quotes M. Guizot—"Men were unoccupied, perverted, and a prey to all kinds of miseries. This is the reason why we find so many turning monks." A laborious, honest, or happy people would never have entered into this life.

Mr. Brown endeavours to point out in his essay much rather what was true and noble in the aims of the "religious life" than wherein it was false in conception and perverted in fact. It may, perhaps, startle some readers to find him affirming that "some vast organised system" was needful to keep before the eye of secular society, however imperfectly, those great Christian ideas which would ultimately render "it independent of Church systems external to it, for all time." It is true, he affirms the necessity of Roman organisations to be analogous to the necessity of the Fall in human history. "The transition from the Church system of the apostolic age to the Establishment of Constantine, must be regarded as in the strictest sense a Fall. Christianity fell as men fell, and, like man, to rise again. God makes the Fall a stage in the unfolding of a larger, richer life. The question is, how far during the stormy Middle age could pure spiritual ideas find room and air to breathe in our world?" We hesitate to accept these suggestions, qualified as they are, as guiding hints towards a solution of the problem. We regard the whole development of Romanism as only to be deplored. A fall from the redeemed state is very different from a fall from innocence of nature. The doubt of the paragraph from which we have quoted as to whether "pure spiritual ideas could find room and air to breathe in our world," is itself the cause of the fall from simple Christianity. Paul or John,

and men like these, would have found for "pure spiritual ideas" both "room and air to breathe." If the "pure truth of the Gospel," when "buried," wrought with freedom and force on mankind, with how much greater freedom and force would it have wrought had it always found a living resting-place in the heart and passion of "purely spiritual" men, "alive from the dead"? The materialism of Imperial Rome proved too mighty for the Church. We are suffering to this day from the idolatrous traditions of the Empire that knew only to rely on force, splendidly organised and compacted into a system, let it be granted, but still force; and that materialism would have had no attraction for the Church of Christ, had there been men of Apostolic faith and character, to cherish and sustain the simpler conception of a mightier, because a purely spiritual, influence.

There are two points in relation to which Mr. Brown ably and, we think, successfully vindicates the "religious life" from popular misconception:—

"We wander among the graceful and splendid ruins of the great Benedictine houses, with which in time our country and Europe generally was begemmed; and we are prone to indulge in a sarcastic reflection on the keen appreciation of natural charms which the choice of the sites exhibits. The taunt is somewhat threadbare, but we meet with it still even among those who ought to know the truth. Tintern, Bolton, Kirkstall, Fountains, and Melrose, are familiar names to most of us. They are the fairest scenes even in this fair land. The great abbeys abroad occupy mainly kindred sites. They seem to claim the softest valleys, the greenest pastures, the most fruitful hill-slopes, the most teeming rivers as their own. These gardens of Europe are the Benedictine eulogies. Fountains Abbey stands in a Yorkshire valley, of which one is tempted to complain that it is too exquisite, too suggestive of luxurious plenty, security, and repose. But turn to the picture which the valley presented to the first monks who invaded it in search of a dreary wilderness, where they might be sure of finding hardship, hunger and toil. They came out of a wealthy and luxurious abbey, to search for these; and they settled in the valley, where in time they reared their splendid fane, because they found there a dismal marsh and a thick forest, with no clearing big enough to give them a few sheaves of corn. 'Search the records of the settlement of Benedict at Subiaco or Monte Cassino; Columbanus at Luxeuil, or Bibbio, his chief disciple, at St. Gall; Abelard at the Paraclete, Bernard at Clairvaux—and you will find substantially the same history. These scenes, which seem so fit to be the homes of a soft and indolent quietude, were chosen because of their wild and desolate sternness; and they were turned to their present beauty by the strenuous toil of a peasantry, the like of which no other history reveals."

Mr. Brown does not abate the charges brought against monasticism, considered as a permanent Christian institution, that it "tramples in the mire" "the dearest and most sacred interests of society," and blasts "all the tender affections and sympathies, all that makes life beautiful and blessed." But he regards this as "by no means conclusive against the 'religious life' as a thing of virtue and use in its times."

"We venture to think that some such isolation and sublimation of the domestic affections was essential to the realisation, after the struggles and self-mortifications of ages, of that purity, delicacy, and spiritual beauty, which in modern life lends a holy charm to the perfection of wedded and kindred love. In other words, so ensnaring, so debasing was the influence of the flesh on the domestic, social, and political life of men, that the new spiritual life had to draw itself off from them, and nourish itself on what it took to be pure celestial aliment as the condition of its blending with them nobly at last, so as to purify and save them, instead of being, as was threatened in those days, buried in them and lost."

Mr. Brown's essay is the work of an historical artist; grouping and colour are both carefully studied in it; it is full of enthusiasm also, and is eloquently and powerfully written. The style is calmer, it evinces more self-repression than the author's earlier productions, and there is a corresponding gain of force. We had noted one or two instances of a tendency to exaggeration or paradox; but the blemishes are so small when compared with the high merit of the essay that they do not deserve to be alluded to here.

The theme which Dr. Mullens has chosen he has long made peculiarly his own. His essay is a convincing proof of the value and fruitfulness of modern missions; no man ought to venture, under fear of being rebuked for ignorance, to repeat in intelligent society the sneer that they have accomplished nothing. If we do not quote from this paper, it is because many of the facts are familiar to our readers, and the power of the essay does not lie in any set of facts which we might transfer to our columns, but in the general view of all the facts which are arrayed in succession. The beautiful story of the Madagascar Christians is told once more; it is freshly and charmingly told; never has it been told more beautifully than here.

With a word or two on Mr. Allon's essay we must conclude our protracted notice of this suggestive volume. Mr. Allon writes on "The Worship of the Church"; dwelling most at length on the worship of Praise. There are

several valuable suggestions in this paper, on Liturgical and non-Liturgical worship for instance, and the character of Congregational Church music. One sentence we are surprised to read:—"The religious feeling of a pious heathen may differ but little from that of a pious Christian; but a common act of worship is determined as much by the deity to whom it is addressed as by the religious sentiment that prompts it." If the "religious feeling" of the heathen differs but little from that of the Christian, then whatever may be the name by which they address the deity, they are worshipping the same God. "God is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him (italics in N. T.) in spirit and in truth. The Father is seeking such worshippers of him." God is not merely a proper name. The "religious feeling," in the full sense of the expression, is the subjective apprehension of the invisible Spirit worshipped. A vague sentiment of adoration will not unite worshippers, but the identity of moral qualities recognised as adorable is identity of the object of worship.

"CASIMIR MAREMMA."*

"Casimir Maremma" is a novel with a purpose, and novels with a purpose do not often achieve great success. They aim at securing two ends, which, if not absolutely incompatible, are not very easily made to harmonise, and they are pretty sure to fail in accomplishing one or the other, if, in truth, they do not miss both. Mr. Helps, for example, wishes in this book to tell an attractive story, and at the same time to instruct the world as to some points of social science, specially in relation to emigration; but though he has succeeded in producing a book of considerable beauty and interest, we cannot say that it proves him to be either a first-rate novelist, or a very sound political philosopher. This is of less importance, however, because the author of "Friends in Council" writes so thoughtfully and so gracefully, throws out so many suggestive hints, presents old subjects in such new lights, and expresses himself with so much frankness on points that are often passed by altogether, and is so manifestly sincere in his desire to do some real service in the work of his generation, that there are innumerable charms in the book, apart from our interest in the story, or our sympathy with the particular views it advocates. "Casimir Maremma" has all the author's characteristic qualities, and its attractiveness is not decreased by the fact that it brings us into contact again with the "Friends in Council." Very wisely, as we think, instead of the observations of Milverton and his friends being mixed up with the tale, an instalment of dialogue alternating with an instalment of tale, we have their observations given as an introduction and an epilogue. On a day when his friends are assembled at his house, Milverton tells them he has written a new story, which he intends to place in their hands, and then follows one of those free pleasant suggestive conversations with which the readers of "Realma" are familiar, and which here forms the introduction to the book. It wanders to and fro, and much of it has little relevance to the subject of the book, but it is full of thoughtful observation and racy anecdotes, and has not a little practical wisdom. A brief extract may serve to illustrate its character. It is one of Ellesmere's wise utterances—

"I suppose you are not so ignorant, all of you, as not to have heard of the Albigenes and Simon de Montfort—a man not in very good odour with Protestant historians, seeing that he slew and burnt thousands upon thousands of 'heretics.' Well, a certain Father Velly wrote a history of these doings. When Simon de Montfort, in this history, dies, the good father thus describes him: 'Homme incomparable, s'il avoit été moins ambitieux, moins cruel, moins perfide, moins colere, et moins vindicatif.' I think I have before now declared to this good company what is my humble opinion about many grammatical rules. The grammarians enunciate a rule, and then they give pages of exceptions. To my poor ungrammatical mind, it almost seems as if it were not worth while to lay down the rule at all, considering there are so many exceptions. My two amiable friends, Mauleverer and Milverton, differ only in this: Milverton learns the rule and forgets the exceptions; Mauleverer learns the exceptions, and takes them to be the rule. Milverton exclaims in his innocent way, 'Homme incomparable!' Mauleverer exclaims, 'Homme ambitieux, cruel, perfide, vindicatif!' I, like a wise man, combine both rule and exception, and am thus enabled to describe all human characters accurately. I can thus touch off the female character to perfection. 'Incomparable creature, woman!' I say, 'if she were less vain, less poutative, (I like to coin a word sometimes) less disobedient, less expensive, and less determined to have her own way in everything!' What an historian, with the aid of my Jesuit instructor, I should have been! By the way, you must know that the good father was perfectly sincere, and meant to praise his hero, as I should wish to praise my hero or heroine."

This is a fair illustration of these conversa-

* *Casimir Maremma*. By the Author of "Friends in Council." 2 Vols. (Bell and Daldy.)

* *Ecclesia: Church Problems Considered in a Series of Essays*. Edited by HENRY ROBERT REYNOLDS, D.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

tions, in which there is everywhere a good deal of quiet humour with occasional quaintness. Both of thought and expression, which adds greatly to their charm. The Attic salt which we find in them, and in the reflections interspersed through the story, would redeem it from dulness, even if it were less interesting in itself. But dulness is about the last charge that could with fairness be brought about it. There is a want of artistic skill both in the portraiture of character, and in the construction of the plot, the episodes (one of which is as needless as it is improbable) and digressions are too numerous. The book, as a whole, cannot claim very high merit as a novel. Still, whatever its defects as a work of fiction, it has excellencies that more than counterbalance them. From first to last it is a pleasant and instructive companion of which we never weary, even though there are some things which appear out of place, and though the chief aim of the writer fails to commend itself to our judgment.

Casimir Maremma himself is one of those remarkable characters with sublime aspirations, extraordinary talents and attainments, and eminent virtues whom a certain class of novelists are so fond of creating. There are many who will sympathise with Ellesmere's expression of opinion in the closing conversation, where the friends discuss the merits of the book they have been reading, that "Casimir is 'too virtuous and altogether too grand for me.'" Perhaps, however, this style of character is necessary for the work the author had for him to do. His task is to found a great colony, and for this purpose he is endowed with the qualities supposed to be essential to a leader in such an enterprise. He has extensive knowledge, he unites physical strength with intellectual force and energy, and both are under the guidance of a strong will directed to a high end; he makes himself familiar with all classes of people, and for the purpose we find him at the beginning of the story leading two lives, the one disguised as an artisan, and the other in his true character among his aristocratic relatives, of the Lochawe connection. His ambition is to do some noble work, and this of colonisation appears to him that which will be productive of the greatest results. In the working out of this idea, however, the author finds opportunity for the introduction of a considerable variety both of character and incident, with not a little of that love-making without which many readers would think a novel altogether incomplete. Whether the scheme he undertook, and which the author has evidently at heart, be feasible, is a question on which we do not care to enter here. In his judgment, men are not likely to be made "more happy by a system of 'judicious emigration, but they may be made 'less abject. I suppose," he says, "that is 'some gain. They may be less dirty, less ill-fed, less squeezed together.'" But for emigration to be judicious there ought to be a leader, one who would organise a colony after the manner of Lord Baltimore. Even if such a man were found, there would be practical difficulties in the future of such a colony beyond those which are discussed in the criticisms of his friends upon Milverton's work. But whether the scheme itself is feasible, or is to be treated only as the dream of a thoughtful and benevolent man, dwelling on the evils he sees around him, and anxious to suggest some form of remedy, we cannot but commend the desire of the writer to stir up in the hearts of those endowed with the gifts of rank and fortune some nobler ambitions than those by which too many of them are influenced. If it was only for its tendency to suggest such thoughts, to rouse from a life of inglorious idleness or selfish and demoralising pleasure, to show the superiority of the practical work over the merely speculative inquiries, the book should have our commendation. The character of Lord Glenant may not be a very probable one, but there is a lesson conveyed in the story of his life which ought not to be without a beneficial influence on many.

BRIEF NOTICES.

Estelle Russell. By the Author of the "Private Life of Galileo." 2 Vols. (Macmillan and Co.) As a story, "Estelle Russell" has many excellencies. The plot is so skilfully contrived that, what does not often happen in novels, even the practised and critical reader is kept in suspense almost till the close. At the same time, there is nothing which outrages probability, the incidents being for the most part natural enough. The most unlikely thing in the whole, perhaps, is the singular manner in which Sir Louis Vivian, the hero, is led into matrimony by the wiles of the scheming Julia Maurice. But this, as well as some other points of weakness and inconsistency in the conduct of the baronet, may very fairly be referred to that early disappointment which had blighted his

whole life, and his later developments, contrasting strongly with his first promise, may thus be regarded as another evidence of the author's art. That art is evidently of no mean order, as will be confessed by any one who carefully studies the different portraits here given us. The proud and selfish French Countess, who may well pair off with the testy and irritable Admiral, who is the plague of his whole family; the Liberal French curé, on whom a good deal of care has evidently been expended; "La Grandeur," the Archbishop, who has Liberal sympathies, and intensely hates the Jesuits, but has his dignity to maintain, as well as to guard himself against informers who are on the outlook for any mistake he may make; the young Count Raymond himself, who is, we suppose, to stand as a type of a section of the young French noblesse, emerging from Legitimist opinions and associations, but exchanging their bondage to priestism for Rationalism or Atheism, are all well drawn, and are marked by considerable originality. Another proof of the writer's skill may be found in the characteristic differences between the three mothers—the Countess, Mrs. Russell, and Mrs. Vivian—each intent on the advancement and happiness of her child, each of them with points of character that are strongly repulsive, and yet each so different from the others. Estelle herself is intended to illustrate the triumph of a simple loyalty of spirit under circumstances of very sore trial. What we do not like in the book is that she should have been placed in such circumstances, but no doubt they do sometimes occur in real life, and the tale may show how even under the greatest difficulties the temptation presented may be overcome. Whether it is well to depict such struggles in works of fiction is a question too wide to discuss here. It is to be said in favour of "Estelle Russell" that its tone is high, and that so far from there being anything to countenance any moral laxity, the tendency is altogether in the opposite direction. It is decidedly a superior novel.

The Caged Lion. By CHARLOTTE M. B. YONGE, author of "The Heir of Redclyffe." (Macmillan and Co.) The "Caged Lion" is James I. of Scotland, at once the captive and the friend of our own Henry V. The story is intended to illustrate the period of his captivity, and to give us some idea of the character of the two monarchs, and of the state of England and Scotland at the time. Miss Yonge has been very successful in fictions of this kind. She sketches vividly and truthfully the leading features of the age in which her story is laid; and she contrives—what is no easy task—to weave the elements of romance and history well together. This book sustains her reputation. It does not profess to be a mere reproduction of historic fact, but the representations, where they are historical, are faithful and accurate. The hero is a creation, and the visit of the king to his native land, on which a good deal of the story turns, is also purely imaginary. Miss Yonge carefully points out to her readers how far she has adhered to history, and where she has called in her own power of invention, or departed at all from the letter of the record for the purposes of the narrative. Chaste and simple in style, full of life and interest as a story, useful as a picture of the men and manners of the period, the book is one which has many attractions, especially for young readers.

Latin and Teutonic Christendom. By G. W. COX. (Longmans, Green and Co.) This is one of the books for which we are indebted to the Ecumenical Council, though the leaders of the Papacy will not feel that they owe any debt of gratitude to its author. The present attitude of the Latin Church (says Mr. Cox), towards the principles which are supposed to lie at the root of modern civilisation, "and to determine the course of 'modern thought, cannot fail to call special attention to 'the general character and working of the system for 'which it seems not unlikely to claim an absolute 'freedom from error." To illustrate this character is the object of this useful little volume, which is as different, as can well be imagined, from those so-called exposures of Romanism in which some self-chosen champions of Protestantism indulge. There is no bitterness of spirit, and the sting which there undoubtedly lies in the clear and forcible array of facts, which exhibit the encroaching spirit of Romanism, its hatred of liberty, its hostility to truth and progress everywhere. The book consists of four essays—one on "Papacy, its Growth and Supporters"; the second on "Mahomet"; the third on "Eastern and Western 'Monachism"; and the last on "Teutonic Christianity." They are to be commended for their accuracy, their candour, and their force.

London Characters and the Humorous Side of London Life. (London: Stanley Rivers and Co.) A man with his eyes open and a keen sense of the ridiculous, may find plenty to amuse himself, and with which to entertain others, in this great metropolis. The writer of this book has visited courts of law, markets, parks, and other places of public resort. The result is a capital series of entertaining sketches.

Ecclesiastical Art in Germany during the Middle Ages. By DR. WILHELM LUBKE, Professor of Art History in Stuttgart. Translated from the Fifth German Edition, with Appendix, by L. A. WHEATLEY. Illustrated with 184 engravings. (Edinburgh: T. C. Jack, 1870.) Dr. Lubke is now well-known to many in this country as an art critic, and this translation of

one of his works, which has reached a fifth edition in Germany, will find many English readers. Although addressed mainly to the profession, it will still secure the attention of the laity by the simplicity of its style, and the beauty and number of its illustrations. The translator has added an appendix in which the salient points of divergence between British and continental ecclesiastical art are noticed, illustrating his remarks by some of the woodcuts taken from Dr. Lubke's "History of Architecture." The work is characterised by great research, and contains information which will be acceptable to all sorts and conditions of men. Those, for instance, who have adopted the modern custom of utilising our town halls for Divine Worship, will be specially interested in the chapter on the early Christian Basilicas. As soon as Christianity was publicly recognised, the Basilika, i.e., the Roman Market and Judgment Hall, was taken as a model for the Church, and this form of building remained unaltered in Italy until the thirteenth century. The Christians could consistently retain the name of "Basilika" (Royal building), with reference to the "King of kings," to whom their churches were dedicated. The covered corridors or galleries were at first dispensed with, but they were restored when Constantine fixed his residence at Byzantium. This arrangement was necessitated by Oriental manners, and each upper story was kept specially for the use of the women. The columns used were such of the numerous remains of ancient buildings as suited the purpose. The twisted pillars in Raphael's cartoon of the healing of the lame man at the Beautiful Gate, of which Mr. Ruskin speaks so disparagingly, were evidently copied from the pillars in a church at Rome, which were said to have formed part of the temple at Jerusalem. The introduction of the vault, and more especially the cupola, led to a new and altogether original ecclesiastical architecture. This was called the Byzantine style. The Romanesque style has been for a long time confounded with the Byzantine, and Dr. Lubke shows that their relation to each is about the same as exists between the Greek Church and the Roman Catholic. The introduction of the pointed arch, after a transition period of some fifty years, led to one of the most important transformations in ecclesiastical architecture, and the Gothic style appeared at the close of the twelfth century. The name was given in derision by the Italians, and in modern times it has been proposed to put some other in its place. We, as well as the French, have claimed the style as national, and in Germany it has been tried to christen it the "German," "old German," or the "Germanic style." The old name, however, is still retained, and it has become a name of honour. The style first appeared in the *Isle de France*, in Paris, thence it passed over to England, and we have several important buildings of the period, one of which is Canterbury Cathedral. The most magnificent building ever produced by the Gothic style, it is hardly necessary to mention, is the cathedral at Cologne. The translator, in the appendix, says: "It is in Gothic architecture that the 'characters of the nations of Europe principally assert 'themselves. Among the Germans, as Boissier observes, in speaking of Cologne Cathedral, 'the square 'and the triangle reign supreme,' and their love of 'law and order often wearies us, and makes us desire 'something to break the monotony. The French often 'give way to playfulness and artistic tricks, but their 'love of beauty has caused them to produce buildings 'such as the cathedrals of Chartres and Rheims, which 'are the admiration of the world. In England there is 'neither the exuberance of fancy of the French, nor the 'excessive love of order of the Germans; but a quiet 'beauty is observable in our buildings which is not 'attained by either of these nations, although there 'may be features which, to them, appear rude and 'barbarous. The great breadth of German cathedrals 'in comparison with their length, makes them appear 'dwarfed, although in height they are generally 'superior to our own." The second part of Dr. Lubke's treatise discusses "Church Furniture," and abounds with curious and interesting information. The woodcuts are by German artists, and are well drawn and carefully engraved.

A Descriptive Hand Atlas of the World. By J. BARTHOLOMEW, F.R.G.S. (A. Fullarton and Co., London and Edinburgh.) Nos. 9, 10. We have already noticed this series of maps, and the present issue, containing New Zealand, Queensland, Spain and Portugal, Ireland, and Africa, is marked by the same accuracy and completeness which characterised the early numbers.

THE NEXT SOLAR ECLIPSE. — Astronomers are about to invite the Government to assist those men of science who may wish to take part in observing the total solar eclipse of December next. The eclipse of the present year will be visible in Spain, as was that of 1860, when the Himalaya was fitted out by the Government for the use of the astronomers. The path of the sun's shadow will lie further south than in 1860; in fact, the shadow's southern limit passes beyond Cape St. Vincent, then beyond Cape Spartel, and so across to Algeria; afterwards passing northwards past Sicily towards Constantinople. For about two minutes and a quarter on the line of central eclipse in Spain the sun will be totally hidden from view. The great question which astronomer er-
once called the solar corona.

Court, Official, and Personal News.

At a private investiture of the Order of the Bath, held by Her Majesty at Windsor on Thursday, Sir H. G. Elliot, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, received the Riband and Badge of the Civil Division of the First Class. Sir E. Sabine and Major-General W. E. Baker were invested with the Insignia of the Second Class (Civil Division). The Queen also held a private investiture of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

Thursday being the ninth anniversary of the death of the Duchess of Kent, the Queen and the Royal Family visited the Duchess's mausoleum at Frogmore. The mausoleum was afterwards thrown open to the servants at the Castle and other visitors.

Friday was the twenty-second anniversary of the birthday of the Princess Louise.

The Prince and Princess of Wales returned yesterday from their visit to the Duke and Duchess of Manchester at Kimbolton Castle.

All the Cabinet Ministers, with the exception of Mr. Bright, were present at the Council on Saturday.

Mr. Bright left Norwood for Brighton on Friday. There is good reason to hope that, under the influence of continued mental rest and the bracing effects of sea air, he may be able soon after Easter to resume his official duties at the Board of Trade in the House of Commons.

Sheriff Mackenzie is gazetted to the seat on the Scottish Judicial Bench vacant through the death of the late Lord Barcoble.

It is stated that Sir Wilfrid Lawson will bring forward the opium question on the earliest open day after the Easter recess, and that his motion will declare that it is inexpedient for the Indian Government to depend upon opium as a source of revenue.

It is proposed to provide a public park in Sheffield, in memory of the late Samuel Bailey, who bequeathed 100,000*l.* to the town.

The *Broad Arrow* gives no credence to the rumour that Mr. Cardwell is likely to resign his post of Secretary of State for War in favour of Lord Northbrook. In the event of Mr. Cardwell not maintaining his position, it is not improbable that Lord Harrington would be his successor.

The death is announced of Mr. J. W. S. Wyllie, C.S.I., late Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, one of the most distinguished of the younger members of the Indian Civil service, and the author of several review articles of great ability.

The Committee of the Reform Club have under consideration the expediency of establishing an Electoral Committee, for the purpose of promoting the more harmonious and united action of the Liberal party.

The Earl of Roden, once a great Orange leader, died on Sunday at Edinburgh, in his eighty-second year.

Miss Elizabeth Garrett has been appointed one of the visiting physicians of the East London Children's Hospital.

The Rev. Newman Hall has written a letter, dated March 2nd, from Jerusalem, announcing his arrival in the Holy City, and describing his camp life outside. After giving a vivid description of the surrounding country, the rev. gentleman concludes, "I am thankful to say my health has improved beyond my expectations."

Miscellaneous.

A MIDDLE-CLASS SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, on the model of the boys' school in Cowper-street, City-road, is to be opened in Finsbury. The number to be accommodated is 400, at a quarterly fee of one guinea each.

A HOME FOR THE WORKING BOYS OF LONDON has been established in Spital-square, Bishopsgate, and was opened on Wednesday, and it is intended to provide several such homes, if the public will find the money which the committee solicit. At the inaugural breakfast Mr. S. Morley, M.P., offered to contribute 250*l.* to furnish a similar home, and guaranteed to pay the rent of it for four years.

CALCRAFT'S RETAINER.—In consequence of the respite of the convict Cunningham, Mr. West Watson, City Chamberlain, on Thursday intimated to Calcrafft, who had been engaged to carry out the last sentence of the law, that his services would not be required. As one of the stipulations of that dread functionary on accepting an engagement is the payment of 5*l.* in the event of his not having to leave London, that sum was remitted along with the communication.—*North British Mail.*

THE FENIANS OF DUBLIN.—At Dublin on Sunday the funeral of Casey, the Fenian poet and ex-convict, was celebrated. Upwards of 10,000 persons went in a procession through the city by a circuitous route to Glasnevin, the men marching three and four deep, wearing green sashes, and the women on cars, wearing green ribbons. A green silk flag was laid on the coffin. There were no bands or banners, and all was very orderly. At the gate of the cemetery the coffin was placed on men's shoulders and carried. The band of the Catholic Young Men's Society, meeting it at the same place, played the "Dead March" in *Saul*. After interment the people visited the memorial cross of the Manchester martyrs.

PROPOSED ROMISH CHAPEL IN THE MARYLEBONE WORKHOUSE.—At last Friday's weekly meeting of the Marylebone Guardians, Mr. C. Bevan in the chair, a long and exciting discussion took place on a report presented by Mr. Douglas, the master of the workhouse, recommending the appropriation of one of the wards of the workhouse as a chapel for Roman Catholic inmates. The report, which had been recommended by the visiting committee for adoption, stated that the total number of Roman Catholic inmates of the workhouse was 342, including six idiots and twelve infants. Mr. Braiss moved, and Mr. Carr seconded, the adoption of the report. Sir James Hamilton moved as an amendment, "That the Roman Catholic inmates be assembled shortly before the hour of Divine service on Sunday and obligation days, and be conducted to and from their places of Divine worship by one or more of the officers of the workhouse." Mr. Vesey seconded the amendment. After some discussion, it was carried by a majority of eleven to eight.

THE YEAR'S INCOME-TAX.—It is a fact of some interest (says the *Economist*) in connection with the revenue returns, that Mr. Lowe has already obtained a respectable surplus over his estimate in one great branch of revenue.

His estimate of income-tax was £9,360,000
And he has already got 9,511,000

Showing a surplus of £151,000
This is an excess of 1·6 per cent., and even if Mr. Lowe should gain no more in proportion on the other branches of receipt, the total surplus over his estimate would amount to upwards of 1,000,000*l.* But it is hardly possible to suppose that the whole tax has been got in, though the collection has certainly been business-like, and whatever is added will of course make the recovery of the revenue during the year more striking.

FATAL COLLISION IN THE CHANNEL.—A terrible collision took place in the Channel on Thursday, not far from the Isle of Wight, between the steamer *Normandy* from Southampton for the Channel Islands and the steamer *Mary of Grimsby*, the consequence of which was that the former vessel was cut down about midships to the water's edge, and sank very shortly afterwards, carrying with her the captain and most of the ship's officers and crew and seventeen passengers, including several ladies. The total loss of life was thirty-two. Apparently the *Normandy* sank in about thirty minutes after the collision. In that time two boats were launched, and those who got into them were saved. The captain of the *Normandy* acted with the greatest composure. The collision took place during a thick fog. The *Mary* suffered so terribly from the shock, that her safe arrival in port appears miraculous, and yet she seems to have done what she could for the assistance of the sinking ship. Her boat did not succeed in saving any lives, but she remained on the spot to pick up the boats of the *Normandy*, and to give what succour could be given.

ELECTION INTELLIGENCE.—By the advice of Professor Fawcett, M.P., and at the earnest solicitation of many persons in Bristol, Mr. Olger has agreed to submit his candidature, with that of Messrs. Hodgson and Robinson, to the test of a preliminary ballot, which was to take place yesterday and to-day. The ballot is to include all electors who either lumped for the Liberals at the general election, or split their votes between the Tory and the Liberal, and all electors since put on the register, without exception. Each of the candidates is busy holding meetings throughout the city. The number of voters now on the register is 21,633, and allowing for double qualifications, &c., there would be 20,000 electors in round numbers capable of voting. Mr. Miles polled nearly 7,000 when he was defeated by Mr. Morley. There are offers in sporting circles that the highest number polled at the test ballot will not exceed 3,500.—Sir W. Russell, Bart., one of the members for Norwich, is expected shortly to resign his seat. There is a prospect of the Liberal party being united, and it is said that Mr. Tillet and Sir Fowell Buxton will be their two candidates. But the writ is not likely to be issued for some time in consequence of the bill before Parliament for disfranchising some of the electors implicated in the bribery proceedings at the last election.—It is stated that Mr. Bernal Osborne, M.P., will make an effort to have the petition against his return for Waterford heard in another county.

THE EMIGRATION MOVEMENT.—The Executive Committee of the British and Colonial Emigration Society have issued a circular expressing their willingness to aid deserving families of the unemployed of London to emigrate to Canada on condition that each adult applicant shall, by means of an emigration club or otherwise, contribute 3*l.* towards the 7*l.* necessary for the passage out. The committee will aid the same class on condition that they contribute 5*l.* of the expense. Single young men and women will be helped to emigrate only in case of their paying 5*l.* The Emigrant and Colonists' Aid Corporation recently applied to Earl Granville for a grant of land in Natal or Western Australia for the settlement of emigrants sent out by the society. The Colonial Minister, in reply, said there were great objections to granting a portion of Crown lands in those colonies. A great part of the royal territory had already been given. In Natal some five million acres had been distributed between 16,000 persons; and in Western Australia about eight million acres were held by 22,000 settlers. The land in the

possession of these persons is the best in the colony. The result, says Earl Granville, is not satisfactory. The owners of these immense tracts are unable to cultivate or occupy them, or to furnish the revenue or labour out of which the social, educational, and material requirements of settlers may be provided. New-comers are necessarily pushed back to places remote from markets, schools, churches, &c., where they can earn nothing by working for wages, and have no means of disposing of the surplus produce they raise from their land. A fresh introduction of emigrants could have no good effect in remedying this state of things. But the Government could have no objection to granting land in the province of Ontario, Canada. The climate there is healthy, traversed by good roads, and within reach of the churches and schools. The Corporation, in answer to this communication, accepts Earl Granville's offer of land in Canada; but regrets the territorial deadlock in Natal and Western Australia, as the climate of those colonies is decidedly less rigorous than that of Canada.

Clearings.

The University Boat Race stands fixed at present for the 6th of April.

It is estimated that about 30,000 volunteers will attend the Easter review this year.

Charles Dickens's new story is said to be founded in part on the Tichborne baronetcy case.

The sum for which Deptford Dockyard has been disposed of is 75,000*l.*

The largest known diamond is that which adorns the sceptre of the Emperor of Russia. Its price was 104,000*l.* The Koh-i-noor ranks fifth.

The Working Men's Club and Institute Union have arranged for a series of visits to the National museums on Saturday afternoons, for the members of workmen's clubs.

The total amount of capital expended on the railways of the United Kingdom has amounted to five hundred millions sterling, and the income is about twenty millions, or four per cent. per annum.

A farmer has obtained 350*l.* damages from the London and North-Western Railway Company, for the burning of buildings and farm produce, caused by the sparks from the defendants' locomotives.

RELIGION AND MONEY.—A coloured pastor in the South writes that the revival in his church stays all progress in the collection of money, "as the coloured people haven't learned that religion and money go together." Alas! alas! how they resemble white people. The human race must have had a common origin surely!

POSTING LETTERS IN A PUMP.—At the meeting of the Marylebone Vestry on Thursday, a letter was received from the authorities of the Western division of the Post-office, stating that an old disused pump in Newman-street, Oxford-street, had been mistaken by some persons for a pillar letter-box, and several letters had been "posted" through the slit left by the removal of the handle. The vestry ordered the removal of the deceptive pump.

CONFECTIONERY BUTTER.—It should be known that there are hundreds of people in London who make a livelihood by buying rancid and dirty butter from the butter-shops, and vending it again to confectioners. A butter-dealer informed me not long ago that some of our best-known confectioners did not refuse to purchase of him the filthy scrapings which he obtained from the butter shops, and that they use large quantities of it in their delicate pastry.—*Echo Correspondent.*

A CHANGE FOR THE BETTER.—The French correspondent of one of the German papers announces that a new era has dawned upon France. This régime is inaugurated by M^{me}s. Ollivier, who has taken to wear high evening dresses, and has caused it to be understood that those who frequent her *salon* are expected to follow her example. In spite of a strong opposition, the movement is successful. It would be well if a similar reform were to be attempted in London, where the climate renders warm clothing even more necessary than at Paris.

CENTENARIANS.—The death is announced of Mrs. Bartles, of Worcester, in her 100th year. She knew John Wesley. Though her mind was often feeble, she could repeat the text she had heard him preach from, "For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ." At Hogg Hall, near Ampleforth station, on the Thirsk and Malton Railway, there died on Wednesday last, a Yorkshire farmer, aged 100 years. The deceased, Mr. Henry Coverley, entered his 101st year on the 20th ult., and up to that time was hearty and well. He remembered first writing his name in a copybook in 1777.

NOTICE.—All announcements intended for this column must be accompanied by a remittance of half-a-crown in postage-stamps.

Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

MARRIAGE.

ORR—DOTHIE.—March 17, at Tacket street Chapel, Ipswich, by the Rev. W. P. Dothie, M.A., and the Rev. E. Dothie, B.A., brothers of the bride, Mr. Erskine Orr, of Greenock, Scotland, to Mary, only daughter of Mr. James Dothie, of Ipswich.

DEATH.

WILSON.—March 14, at San Remo, Italy, Anne, the wife of Thomas Wilson, and eldest daughter of Joseph Brooks, Esq., of Bollington, near Macclesfield.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

(From Wednesday's Gazette.)

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 32, for the week ending Wednesday, March 16.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Notes issued	£24,196,925	Government Debt £11,015,100	
		Other Securities ..	3,984,600
		Gold Coin & Bullion	19,198,925
	£24,196,925		£24,196,925

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Proprietors' Capital	£14,553,000	Government Securities (inc. dead weight annuity)	£13,795,214
Reserve	8,637,328	Other Securities ..	19,750,853
Public Deposits	11,572,751	Notes	12,749,375
Other Deposits	16,593,273	Gold & Silver Coin	997,990
Seven Day and other Bills	416,580		
	£46,772,932		£46,772,932

March 17, 1870.

GEO. FORBES, Chief Cashier.

HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT AND PILLS. — UNIVERSAL CURATIVES. — No one should brood over infirmities or permit intolerable pain to wear away the energies, without giving Holloway's remedies a fair and impartial trial. They purify and heal — two qualities requiring no comment. The Pills exercise a wonderful power in purifying, regulating, and correcting torpidity of liver or kidneys; they remove any temporary stagnation of blood, thus preventing congestion of the lungs, liver, spleen, brain, or any other organ. They act as alteratives, sedatives, or stimulants, by their power over the nerves, which are the "governors" of all animal functions. From the use of one or both of Holloway's restoratives, the patient will obtain relief or immunity from suffering.

Markets.

CORN EXCHANGE, LONDON, Monday, March 21.

We had a small supply of English wheat, but rather larger arrivals have come to hand from abroad. The demand for all descriptions of grain was slow this morning, and to make sales is, per qr. decline had to be submitted to on English as well as foreign wheat. The flour trade was inactive, and prices were barely supported. Peas, beans, and barley were steady, at former prices. Indian corn met a moderate demand, prices being in favour of buyers for parcels, ex-ship. Of oats we have unusually small arrivals, and last week's prices were not freely paid. Carries on the coast maintain the advance of last week, but the demand is less active.

CURRENT PRICES.

WHEAT—	Per Qr.	Per Qr.	PEAS—	Per Qr.	Per Qr.
Essex and Kent, red, old ..	44 to 45		Grey	31 to 33	
Ditto new ..	37 43		Maple	33 39	
White, old ..	45 46		White	33 36	
" new ..	37 43		Boilers	33 36	
Foreign red ..	39 40		Foreign, boilers ..	33 35	
" white ..	42 44		RYE	31 32	
BARLEY—			OATS—		
English malting ..	26 30		English feed ..	13 20	
Chevalier ..	34 40		" potato ..	23 24	
Distilling ..	30 34		Scotch feed ..	— —	
Foreign ..	20 32		" potato ..	— —	
MALT—			Irish black ..	16 18	
Pale	— —		" white ..	16 18	
Chevalier ..	— —		Foreign feed ..	16 18	
Brown	43 51		FLOUR—		
BEANS—			Town made ..	27 43	
Ticks	33 35		Country Marks ..	32 33	
Harrow	35 38		Norfolk & Suffolk	28 29	
Small	— —				
Egyptian ..	31 37				

BREAD, Saturday, March 19.—The prices in the Metropolis are, for wheaten bread, per 4lbs. loaf, 7d. to 7½d.; Household bread, 6½d. to 6¾d.

PROVISIONS, Monday, March 21.—The arrivals last week from Ireland were 114 firkins butter, and 3,335 bales bacon, and from foreign ports 20,311 packages butter, and 1,530 bales and 224 boxes bacon. The butter markets exhibited little change during last week. Finest foreign met a steady demand. Best Dutch 12s. to 12½s. The bacon market remained quiet in value, the dealers only purchasing for immediate consumption.

METROPOLITAN CATTLE MARKET, Monday, March 21.—With large arrivals of both English and foreign stock at this morning's market, and the return of warmer weather, the cattle trade has again become much depressed, and prices have further receded. The general quality of the stock was not good, and the dead-meat trade being particularly heavy, butchers showed little disposition to operate. From Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire we received about 1,200 Scots and crosses; from other parts of England about 500 of various breeds; from Scotland, 275 Scots and crosses; and about 50 head from Ireland. Among the foreign beasts were some French animals of good weight and character. The demand for even prime beef ruled very dull and the quotations gave way 2d.; choice Scots having changed hands at 5s. per 8lbs. All inferior and foreign cattle were lower to sell. The announcement was recently made of the arrival of the Ariadne (s.s.) at Falmouth, with a first consignment of cattle from the River Plate. The number landed was 144 bullocks, 100 sheep, 6 cows, 5 calves, and 7 horses, but owing to the bad weather experienced on the way, great delay was incurred and damage to the stock. Several animals died on the voyage, and those landed were in such bad condition that great difficulty has been found in obtaining offers at all approaching the cost value of the animals here. It was expected that some would have been sent forward for sale at Islington, but this first consignment, at all events, appears to be totally unfit for the London market. The market was well supplied with sheep, a large proportion of which was shorn. Trade, however, ruled very dull for all breeds, and fine mutton gave way 2d., while inferior animals were quite 4d. per 8lbs. lower. Best Southdowns in the wool occasionally made 5s. 10d., while choice shorn half-bred wethers sold at 5s. The lamb trade was dull, at prices varying from 7s. 6d. to 8s. per 8lbs. The calf trade was depressed, except for choice small animals. Pigs were unaltered in value.

Per 8lbs. to sink the Offal.

Inf. coarse beasts	3 2 to 3 4	Prime Southdowns	5 6 to 5 10
Second quality	4 0 4 6	Lamb	0 0 0 0
Prime large oxen	4 8 5 10	Lge. coarse calves	3 10 4 10
Prime 8s. to, &c.	4 10 5 0	Prime small ..	4 6 5 4
Coarse inf. sheep	3 0 3 4	Large hogs ..	4 6 5 4
Second quality	3 10 4 0	Veal & m. porkers	5 6 5 8
Pr. coarse wethers	5 0 5 4		

Suckling calves 22s. to 26s., and quarter-old store pigs, 20s. to 26s. each.

METROPOLITAN MEAT MARKET, Monday, March 21.—There was a full average supply of meat on sale here to-day. For all qualities trade was dull, at drooping prices. The import into London last week consisted of 26 packages from

Rotterdam, 5 packages from Harlingen, and about 1,000 packages from Hamburg.

Per 8lbs. by the carcase.

Inferior beef ..	3 6 to 3 10	Middling ditto ..	3 8 4 2
Middling ditto ..	3 10 4 2	Prime ditto ..	4 2 4 6
Prime large do. ..	4 2 4 4	Veal	4 8 5 0
Do. small do. ..	4 4 4 6	Small pork ..	4 4 5 4
Large Pork ..	3 8 4 0	Lamb	6 8 7 4
Inf. mutton ..	3 0 3 4		

BOROUGH HOP MARKET, Monday, March 21.—Our market presents no change worthy of notice. A limited hand-to-mouth trade still exists for new home-growths, and the actual business done being very small. There is little or no change in the market quotations of choice new foreign and American, but, owing to the want of business, they must be considered merely nominal. Yearlings of all kinds attract no attention. Imports for the week ending March 19, 2,004 bales, against 3,255 bales the previous week. New York advices to the 8th inst. report the market as dull, but the continued large exports to Europe keep prices tolerably firm. Mid and East Kent, 7s. 6s., 9s. 5s., to 12s. 12s.; Wealds, 6s. 6s., 7s. 6s., to 8s. 6s.; Sussex, 5s. 12s., 6s. 6s., to 6s. 13s.; Bavarians, 6s. 6s., 7s. 7s., to 9s. 6s.; French, 5s. 6s., 5s. 15s., to 6s. 10s.; Americans, 4s. 5s., 5s. 5s., to 6s. 6s.; Yearlings, 1s. 10s., 2s. 10s., to 3s. 15s. The import of foreign hops into London last week consisted of 63 bales from Antwerp, 310 from Bremen, 51 from Ostend, 207 from Rotterdam, and 1,920 from New York.

POTATOES. — BOROUGH AND SPITALFIELDS. — Monday, March 21.—Supplies have come moderately to market. There has been a fair demand for most descriptions, but prices have been supported. The import into London last week consisted of 1,973 packages, 90 sacks, 765 bags from Antwerp, 725 sacks from Dunkirk, and 13 bags from Rotterdam. English Shaws, 120s. to 130s. per ton; English Regents, 75s. to 110s. per ton; Scotch Regents, 75s. to 110s. per ton; Scotch rocks, 70s. to 75s. per ton; French, 60s. to 70s. per ton.

SEED, Monday, March 21.—English cloverseed still comes forward in very small parcels. Fine samples brought in high prices, and good samples of red foreign realised somewhat more money. White cloverseed remains high. Choice English trefoll was very dear, and all foreign qualities were firm, and slightly dearer. There was no material variation in the value of mustard-seed. Canary-seed keeps up in value.

WOOL, Monday, March 21.—Although the business doing has been only moderate, the market has been firm, and prices have been well supported. Good hogs are in most request, while inferior and medium wools have been altogether neglected. Shearing is now making rapid progress, and the new clip will make its appearance in the market shortly.

OIL, Monday, March 21.—Lime oil has been quiet, but prices have ruled firm. For rape oil the demand has been less active. Cocoa-nut has commanded more attention, but olive and palm have sold slowly.

TALLOW, Monday, March 21.—The market has been firm. Y.C., spot, 41s. 3d. per cwt. Town tallow, 44s. net cash.

COAL, Monday, March 21.—Owing to the limited supply, factors realised 1s. advance on best coal. Hettous Wallend 18s. 6d., ditto Lyons 16s., Haswell 18s. 6d., Hartlepool original 18s. 6d., Hartlepool 17s. 6d., Eden Main, 16s. 3d., Holywell Main 16s., Hartleys 15s. 3d., Tees 18s. Ships fresh arrived, 27; ships left from last day, 2; ships at sea, 35.

Advertisements.

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£50,000 ready to be ADVANCED by the TEMPERANCE PERMANENT LAND and BUILDING SOCIETY, on FREEHOLD or LEASEHOLD PROPERTY, for any period of years not exceeding 15, the mortgage being red-emptible by equal Monthly Instalments. Interest (in addition to a small premium) 5 per cent. on the balance each year. Apply to

HENRY J. PHILLIPS, Secretary

Offices: 4, Ludgate-hill, London, E.C.

NOTE.—More than One Million and a Quarter Pounds sterling have been advanced upon house property alone.

A LADY, accustomed to Tuition, wishes for a SITUATION in a SCHOOL or FAMILY. Thorough English, with French and Music to beginners. A Preparatory School for Young Gentlemen not objected to.—M., 169, Tottenham-court-road, W.

A TRAINED, CERTIFICATED, experienced SCHOOLMASTER desires the MASTERSHIP of a BRITISH SCHOOL. Excellent testimonials.—Address, Master, Post office, Newland-terrace, Kensington, W.

ARCHITECTURE.—WANTED, a PUPIL.—Address, Messrs. Searle and Son, 4, Bloomsbury-place, Bloomsbury, W.C.

DRAPERY.—WANTED, a Christian YOUNG MAN of business habits as ASSISTANT.—Apply, stating age, salary, &c., with references, to Wm. Fisk and Son, St. Alban's, Hert's.

MR. STREETER (Successor to

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18-CARAT GOLD JEWELLERY, also

WATCHES and CLOCKS,

MACHINE-MADE.

BRACELETS, STRAP, 18-CARAT £5 0

BRACELETS, ETRUSCAN, „ £7 0

BRACELETS, NINEVEH, „ £10 0

BRACELETS, SAXON, „ £15 0

BROOCHES, ETRUSCAN, „ £2 10

BROOCHES, NINEVEH, „ £3 0

BROOCHES, SAXON, „ £4 0

BROOCHES, EGYPTIAN, „ £5 0

CHAINS, PRINCESS, „ £2 0

CHAINS, CYLINDER, „ £3 0

CHAINS, CURB, „ £4 0

CHAINS, CABLE, „ £5 0

EARRINGS, ETRUSCAN, „ £1 10

EARRINGS, SAXON, „ £2 5

EARRINGS, EGYPTIAN, „ £3 5

EARRINGS, NINEVEH, „ £4 10

LOCKETS, ENGRAVED, „ £1 0

LOCKETS, CORDED, „ £2 10

LOCKETS, CROSS, „ £4 0

GOLD WATCHES, LADIES', £8 8

GOLD WATCHES, „ £10 10

GOLD WATCHES, ½-PLATE, £15 15

GOLD WATCHES (HUNTING), £11 11

GOLD WATCHES, ¼-PLATE, £16 16

GOLD WATCHES, „ £20 0

GOLD WATCHES, KEYLESS £15 10

GOLD WATCHES, „ £22 0

GOLD WATCHES (HUNTING), £18 18

CLOCKS, CARRIAGE, £5 0

CLOCKS, „ (STRIKING), £7 7

CLOCKS, „ „ (ON GONG), £12 12

CLOCKS, LIBRARY (MARBLE), £4 0

CLOCKS, „ „ £10 12

CLOCKS, „ „ £14 0

CLOCKS, „ (ORMOLU), £10 0

CLOCKS, „ „ £15 0

THE ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE,

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POST FREE for TWO STAMPS, only of

MR. STREETER, 37, CONDUIT-STREET,

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SUCCESSOR to HANCOCK & COMPANY,

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SHARES, 25s each, may be paid in one sum, or by Monthly Subscription of 5s. per share.

INVESTING MEMBERS receive 5 per cent. Interest, and Share of Surplus Profits.

MONEY ADVANCED on MORTGAGE without premium or any term of years.

JONATHAN TAYLOR, Secretary.

Offices:—107A, FENCHURCH STREET, E.C.

ON Sunday Mornings, MARCH 27th and APRIL 3rd, DISCOURSES on the DOGMA of a TRINITY will be delivered in SOUTH-PLACE CHAPEL, FINSBURY, by Mr. MONCURE D. CONWAY.

Service commences at 11.15.

PETITION in FAVOUR of SCRIPTURAL EDUCATION in ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

To the HONOURABLE the COMMONS of the UNITED KINGDOM in PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

The HUMBLE PETITION of the UNDERSIGNED SHewETH—

That it is established by numerous legal decisions from very early periods of the English history, that the Revealed Word of God is the main foundation of the common law of the realm, and that "Christianity is part and parcel of the law of the land."

That Motions are now before your Honourable House, which, if passed into law, will exclude from all Elementary Schools the teaching of the Revealed Word of God.

That it is unreasonable to prohibit, as part of the education of the future citizens of any realm, the one Book on which the laws of that realm are founded.

That to enforce the exclusion of that Book will tend to sap the foundations of the constitutions of the realm.

That to require Christian parents to send their children to, or to require Christian ratepayers to support such schools, is not only unconstitutional, but also a violation of religious liberty, and calculated to bring the laws of the realm into antagonism with the law of God.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray your Honourable House to require that in every school aided by State or public moneys, the children shall be instructed in that "Foundation of our Common Law," the Revealed Word of God.

And your Petitioners will ever pray, &c.

This PETITION LIES for SIGNATURE at the following addresses:—J. Girdlestone, Esq., 18, New-street, Spring-gardens; William Williams, Esq., 9, Southampton-street, Bloomsbury; Messrs. Hunt and Co., 23, Holles-street, Cavendish square; Messrs. Nisbet and Co., Berners-street; Messrs. Hatchards, 187, Piccadilly; Messrs. Newton and Co., 3, Fleet-street; and Messrs. Suter and Co., 32, Cheapside. Forms of the Petition will be sent post free on application to B. A. Heywood, Esq., care of Messrs. Newton, 3, Fleet-street, London.

HERBERT FRY, Hon. Sec.

Platform Tickets can be had at the Offices of the League, 24, Suffolk-street, Pall-mall East.

HERBERT FRY, Hon. Sec.

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